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**“But It Comes with a Price”:
Employment in Social Movement Organizations**

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Declaration

This is to certify that the work contained within this thesis has been composed by me and is entirely my own work. No part of this thesis has been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

Mor Kandlik Eltanani

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Abstract

In recent decades, social movements in general and Social Movement Organisations (SMOs) in particular have been going through processes of professionalisation, adopting market goals and methods, and employing on a large scale. Whilst most literature focuses on the impact of such processes for SMO activism, this research focuses on the impact of such moves for SMO staff. This thesis looks at employment and professionalisation in Israeli peace and anti-occupation SMOs, using Social Movement Theory, labour market literature, and a Weberian approach to conceptualise professionalisation, working conditions, and careers in SMOs. The mixed-methods data collection process included a phone survey of 200 workers in 32 SMOs, administrative data collected from the Israeli Bureau of Associations, 5 in-depth interviews and 2 workshops. The quantitative analysis mainly includes a comparison of SMO workers and representative data on the Israeli population and labour market (using the surveys ISSP 2005, ESS 2010, and the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics' Social Survey 2011), and multilevel analysis using variables at both the organisational and the individual levels. The interviews and workshops used participants as partners, ensuring that the analysis is valid, meaningful, and relevant.

Findings reveal that the researched SMO workers are highly educated, with an over-representation of women and Palestinians. They have a higher proportion of part-time positions, shorter tenure, and lower pay considering their educational levels, compared to the general Israeli labour market. While inequalities between Jews and Palestinians are not maintained in SMOs, inequalities between men and women are. Whilst working conditions are not ideal, SMO workers are motivated more by helping others and by professional interest, and less by practical considerations – although these do have a place in their decisions. They tend to stay within the Social Movement Sector, and develop an activism career – in which the organisational style and goals of SMOs compared to those of other sectors make it hard for them to leave the Social Movement Sector. The conceptualisation of professionalisation as bureaucratisation presented in Social Movement Theory matches actual data, and a professionalisation scale was created. Professionalisation may have negative effects on salary and tenure, and no positive effects were seen. These findings are true for SMOs that already employ

workers, and they are interesting given that one consequence of professionalisation is creating more SMO employment. Different activity areas seem to offer different working conditions.

This dissertation offers a contribution to SMOs and their workers, by highlighting inequalities and problematic issues regarding working conditions. It also enhances our theoretical understanding of SMO workers' careers and careers in general, as well as of the possible consequences of professionalisation processes.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Dana, 40 years old, holds three different SMO (Social Movement Organisation) positions, which together are barely enough for her to support herself and her children. She did not always work in the SMO sector – until she was 37, she worked in a high-income industry, using her specialist, technical skills in a lucrative job, in what she referred to as a “men’s world”. The transition to work in SMOs reflected, to a large extent, a more personal transition in her life. This included a divorce and a move to a more rural location. Her professional transition began when she became involved in a volunteering project with other women. Her style of communication shifted to involve more cooperation and acceptance. This encouraged her to seek out employment in the SMO sector. Rather than having multiple positions, she would have preferred a single position in which she worked directly as a coach and a guide, practicing the new set of skills she acquired in her social movement work and volunteering – but at the time of the interview she performed a mixture of administrative and low managerial tasks, alongside more educational and therapeutic roles. Her view of employment in the Israeli peace SMO sector was strong and highly critical, and she indicated that she has given this a lot of thought even before I contacted her for this research. Her previous line of work has enabled her to appreciate just how insufficient the working conditions are in the sector. However, it was clear to her that she will not go back to work in a different sector. This was evident not just in her motivations and aspirations, but also in her extremely open and accepting style of communication and in the feminist views and motivations that were expressed in our conversation: The SMO sector is where she feels she belongs.

While social movements are often partially defined through their informality (Diani and Bison, 2004), employment in SMOs creates an interesting combination of needs and motivations, as well as of work and volunteering. In Dana’s story and elsewhere, this employment is often seen as an alternative to employment in other sectors – a place where workers can follow their conscience, help others, communicate freely, and do work they consider interesting and important. This does, however, appear to come

at the price of inferior working conditions. Not only do SMO positions offer less money than other positions for equally educated workers, they are short-term and often part-time. As a result, workers like Dana accept different administrative jobs to make ends meet, and yet stay in the SMO Sector. The creation of this employment is both an expression and the outcome of professionalisation processes, creating a Social Movement Industry (Everett, 1992), which changes both the nature of social movements, and that of employment in them. While the literature often points to the dangers of de-radicalisation and de-mobilisation of professionalisation processes, the workers themselves are less explored¹.

To address this gap in the literature and enhance the understanding of SMO workers, this thesis examines professionalisation processes and working conditions in SMOs. This research uses a mixed-methods multi-level approach comprised of a survey of 200 randomly selected workers from 32 peace and anti-occupation Israeli SMOs, administrative data collection, interviews, and workshops. It investigates the relations between workers' characteristics, organisational features, working conditions, motivations, and career paths. It thus provides a measurable and quantifiable picture of the current situation in the researched SMOs. It also explores the possibility of causal links between organisational and individual level elements.

In this thesis, a social movement is defined as a dense informal network of individuals and organisations, which has a strong network identity and engages in conflictual action (Diani and Bison, 2004). In the past few decades, social movements have gone through a process of professionalisation, which includes accepting new roles from both the market and the state, specialisation, and institutionalisation. As part of this process and as an expression of social movements' demobilisation processes, SMOs are being created at an accelerated pace. The professionalisation of these SMOs themselves is the starting point of my exploration. Professionalisation is viewed here as a form of bureaucratisation (Weber, 1946 [1919]), in which SMOs become more formal, accept market values and methods – and employ more workers (e.g. Everett, 1992; Jenkins and Eckert, 1986; Oliver, 1989). This employment is the subject of this thesis.

¹ Exceptions include Roth (2015) and Staggenborg (1988) who used qualitative methods to research SMO and aid workers.

As I will show in the following chapter, the Israeli peace movement can be traced back to the 1920s, is well established and has gone through a professionalisation process in the 1990s. Movement activists and organisations are working towards a variety of goals, including support for Israeli Palestinians, education for deliberation between Jews and Palestinians, and campaigning for peace and against the frequent wars in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Peace and anti-occupation SMOs in Israel were chosen as the case study for this thesis for their variety of work areas and organisational forms, while being relatively easy to identify and sample from. This variety allows for these variables to be explored, and supports my claim for generalisability of the findings to a wide range of SMOs. The definition of work and workers, however, is contested (e.g. Pahl, 1984). The decision of what counts as work and is compensated as such, is strongly related to power relations in society (e.g. Oakley, 1974), and the differentiation between workers and volunteers is, indeed, not a clear-cut distinction. As Dana's story exemplifies, different positions at SMOs can vary in their demands from the worker and in the balance of motivations that lead to them. While some of Dana's positions represent what she wants to do, others were chosen mainly to earn money and are further away from the activities she would choose to do. In this thesis, I have chosen to only interview those who receive monetary compensation – in any form, including freelance payments and scholarships. This decision is mainly driven by the fact that working conditions – one of the focal points of this thesis - are largely comprised of these monetary compensations and their relations to other factors.

My focus is, therefore, on SMOs and their workers. What kind of employers are SMOs? Who are their workers, and what drives them to work in SMOs? How does professionalisation affect working conditions? To my knowledge, these questions have not yet been examined in the literature. Using a multilevel framework, viewing both workers and organisations, I aim to provide an answer to these questions that can be generalised beyond the researched organisations.

1.2 The Multi-Level Structure of the Research Subject

The data explored in this thesis are inherently multileveled: My focus on professionalisation and working conditions in SMOs means that there is more than one kind of actor in this story – both the worker and the employer need to be considered.

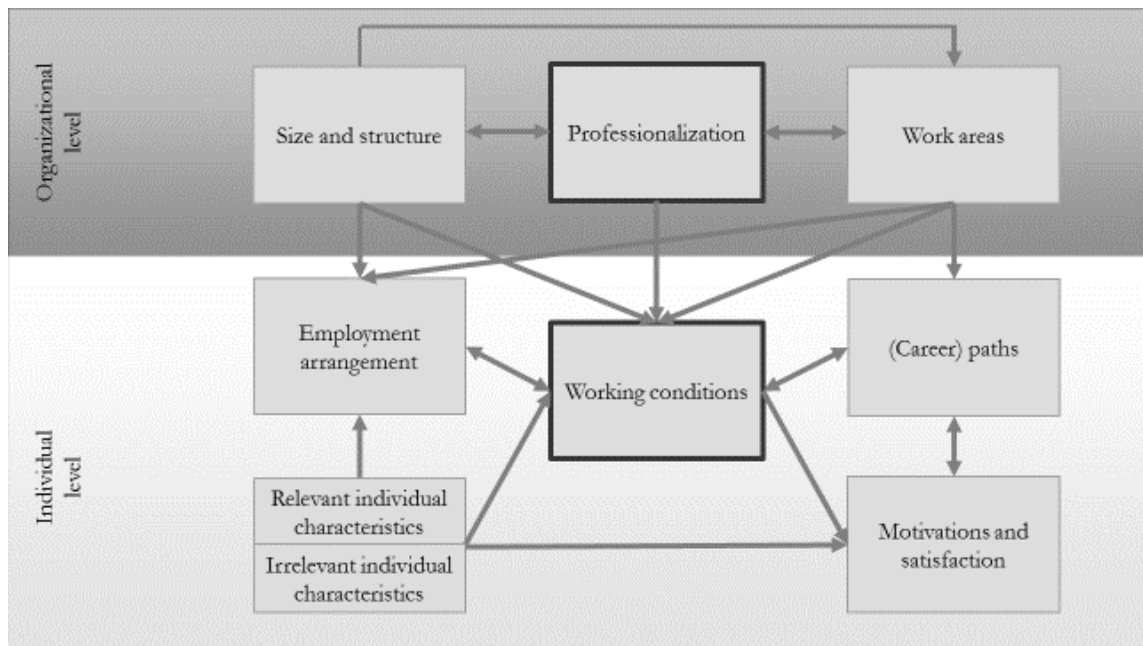
Although in every situation of employment both the employer and the employee are sides in the employment relationship, this is not always reflected in the way employment relations are researched. In the classic division between the two main disciplines engaged with labour market research – Sociology and Economics – Economics tends to explore labour from an individualistic point of view, while Sociology tends to add a more collective consideration of labour market studies (Granovetter, 1988). On the other hand, social movement literature often focuses on the social movements themselves, SMOs, and their goals or target audience (Oliver et al., 2003). These two bodies of literature – social movement literature and labour market literature (particularly the sociological point of view) – make up the theoretical framework for this thesis. Bringing these two perspectives together fits the research topic as well as its multilevel structure. It is important to note that research looking at both sides does exist (e.g. Staggenborg, 1988), yet this approach is far from the norm. Moreover, research doing this quantitatively has not, to the best of my knowledge, been published on SMOs. In this thesis I use a multilevel approach both technically and substantially. Multilevel modelling is used technically as workers clustered into organisations are not independent observations and therefore the SMO they work for should be controlled for. It is also used substantially, as I am interested in processes and characteristics of both the SMOs and their workers.

Figure 1.1 displays the hypothesised relationships between different characteristics of the researched organisations and their workers. It provides an overview of the two levels of analysis that are explored throughout the thematically organised analysis. Note that the source of funding for the organisations which enables employment is also part of the story of employment in SMOs, but is beyond the scope of this thesis, and merits further research. At the **organisational** level, I am interested in three types of variables: (1) those measuring the professionalisation processes themselves, including the division of labour, levels of training, and measures of hierarchy; (2) those measuring the size and structure of the SMOs, including budget and number of workers and volunteers; and (3) the SMOs' work areas, differentiating organisations focusing on media, services, community, or action. These three types of organisational variables could all affect one another. More specifically, professionalisation levels could affect the organisational structure and the choice to specialise in certain work

areas and not in others; the organisational structure could affect levels of professionalisation, and also the organisation's ability to act in certain work areas; and finally – some work areas may demand a more professionalised organisation, as well as a specific organisational structure.

At the **individual** level, there are, as mentioned, three realms I want to research: (1) Most centrally, I want to look at working conditions. Following input from SMO participants both prior to and during the research, I focus on self-reported salary, work hours, and tenure. (2) I also explore determinants which can affect working conditions, including working arrangements, which focuses on type of employment, such as employment as a freelancer or for a scholarship; and (3) workers' characteristics, including factors relevant for working conditions (education and labour market experience), and factors, namely gender and nationality, which in an ideal world would not be relevant for the determination of working conditions and particularly of salaries, but in many cases affect them nonetheless. I further examine the effects of working arrangements and workers' characteristics on working conditions, and compare the conditions of SMO workers to those of workers in the general Israeli labour market. This allows me to discuss the conditions themselves, as a preparation for later analysis, as well as to look at the issue of disparities and institutionalised discrimination in the SMO sector – which includes all social movements in society (Zald and McCarthy, 1980:2).

Figure 1.1: Causal links and multilevel structure explored in the thesis



This figure only explores the professionalisation route leading to a professionalised SMO. However, there are various routes of professionalisation, such as parties and fourth sector organisations. There are also various motivations for professionalisation, such as to influence policy, to enhance legitimation and to maximise resources.

Finally, also at the **individual** level, I look at two processes individuals go through that both affect and are affected by working conditions: (1) I examine workers' biographies and career paths to ask why they chose to work for an SMO to begin with, what their previous job was, what they learned as part of their educational qualifications, and where they might go next. (2) I look at workers' motivations to see what drives them to put effort into their work, and what affects their satisfaction levels. This, again, will be compared to the general population of Israeli workers to provide context and to see if SMO workers exhibit motivations and satisfaction levels which can characterise them as workers driven more by ideological motivations and less by practical employment-related concerns.

In addition to the effects of all of these attributes and processes on each other, the levels themselves could have separate effects. One way to understand this substantially is through the concept of responsibility: Who is responsible for variations in working conditions? Is it the workers themselves? Is it the SMOs? It is worth mentioning here that the SMOs themselves are very much guided by their ability to mobilise funding. Looking at both levels at the same time within a methodological framework that allows

one to do so is, therefore, important. The multilevel modelling used in this thesis enables me to achieve both goals mentioned in this section: (1) controlling for errors and reflecting the multilevel structure of the research subject; and (2) directly exploring this structure and links between different variables in relation to working conditions.

1.3 Political and Methodological Decisions

Alongside the theoretical understanding of the researched organisations which is based on social movement theory and labour market literature, it is important to note the specific political and organisational context within which they operate. Therefore, in chapter 3 I will provide a short review of the political landscape, specifically looking at the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, as this is the common cause or context of the researched SMOs. I will also review the historical development of Israeli civil society, and of the peace movement within it, to offer a broader understanding of its trajectories of development. At this point of the introduction, however, I would like to describe my personal and political point of view, which will dictate the tone used in the review of the context, as well as some of the words I choose to use. First of all, since this research focuses on Israeli SMOs², my review focuses on Israel's actions and does not discuss the inner differences and politics of the Palestinian authorities and leaders. Secondly, my review is not free from a political standpoint, as I believe such freedom is impossible. An extensive debate exists on issues of neutrality and equality when reporting the Palestinian-Israeli conflict (Philo and Berry, 2004). The important point for my own decisions is that such neutrality and equality can also be seen as a distortion of the reality in which Israel is in a much more favourable position in terms of military force, as well as the fact that it is occupying Palestine. In other words, finding a mid-point would not necessarily lead to neutrality – and any choice made when reporting the conflict will be criticised by at least one side of the conflict. Specifically, since I include a brief background to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, my review could be accused of not mentioning the shortcomings and violence of the Palestinian side – a choice which is consistent with the Israeli focus of this research, along with the SMOs'

² Since Palestinian SMOs work within a completely different labour market, with diverse social and economic situations, this would make a comparison of the working conditions extremely difficult.

views, and with my own perspective as an Israeli. This view-point has guided me in the choice of terminology used in this thesis.

One specific choice I made is to refer to Palestinian citizens of Israel as such, and not as Arabs, Israeli Arabs, or Minorities – as they are sometimes referred to in research and in the media (Rabinowitz, 1993). This stems from my wish to not erase their identity, which is an inherent part of the Palestinian nationality, and not separate from it (ibid). This layering of national identities – the fact that the researched Palestinians are Palestinian as well as Israeli – also leads my definition of Palestinians and Jews as nationalities rather than ethnicities. This choice is in line with the way this distinction is represented in studies of Israeli society (such as Maoz, 2011; Mizrachi and Herzog, 2012; Attar-Schwartz and Ben-Arieh, 2012, among many others), as the term ethnicity is normally reserved to the distinction between Mizrachi and Ashkenazi Jews³. Overall, these choices are made to reflect a consideration of the current political situation as I experience and understand it, while following conventions of research engaging with this context.

1.4 Thesis Outline

With *Introduction* and *Conclusion*, this thesis consists of nine chapters. The first two lay the foundations for the thesis by describing the political, organisational, and theoretical context and framework for it. The third chapter describes the methodology used in this research, and the last four present research findings. The findings chapters follow the SMO workers' careers, starting with recruitment and basic characteristics and conditions, through organisational elements of inequalities and professionalisation, and finishing with the elements that keep the workers not necessarily within the specific SMO, but within the SMO sector. The first findings chapter examines paths into working in SMOs, the demographic characteristics of workers, and the working conditions; the second focuses on inequalities between and within SMOs; the third looks at professionalisation processes and organisational size; and the fourth findings chapter explores the careers and motivations of SMO workers. Together they provide a clearer picture of what it means to be an SMO worker, which

³ As the holocaust is very central in Israeli discourse, the term race is rarely in use.

takes into account different levels of analysis and a consideration of both the current situation and the processes that led to it.

Chapter 2 offers an account of the context, both in terms of the larger political context to the specific organisational environment. Four levels of context are presented, ordered from the most general to the most specific: (1) The political situation that the peace and anti-occupation SMOs face is reviewed. This suggests that the atmosphere in Israel presents challenges to those engaging with the Israeli peace movement. (2) The development of Israeli civil society and social movements is reviewed, considering both aspects that are different from other countries and aspects that are similar. (3) The history of the Israeli peace movement is presented, showing the merit of the Social Movement Political Process theory to understanding its development. (4) The current institutional situation of Israeli peace and anti-occupation organisations is examined including their range of goals and structures. This examination supports the choice of these organisations as ones that enable generalisation due to their variation.

Chapter 3 suggests an integration of the two theoretical frameworks needed to conceptualise this research project. *Labour market* literature explores the labour market, largely from the workers' perspective, focusing on working conditions and disparities between groups of workers. *Social Movement theory*, on the other hand, focuses on social movements as well as SMOs, and provides a framework for understanding SMO's actions and professionalisation processes, as well as SMO workers' motivations. A special emphasis in this literature is put on professionalisation, conceptualising it as a form of bureaucratisation in SMOs.

Chapter 4 outlines and assesses the different methods used in this process, justifies methodological choices, and describes their varying levels of success. Three main methods were used to generate data on the individual and organisational levels: (1) A survey of 200 workers from 32 SMOs was conducted by phone. The survey design is discussed, as well as the issue of non-response and the level of representativeness of the data. To assess the quality of the data and to contribute to methodological literature, this phone survey included a randomised experiment on the effect of incentives on response rate. (2) Data on organisations was collected from the Israeli Bureau of Associations. (3) Workshops and interviews were held, in which the survey findings

were discussed. This explanatory path for mixed methods, where quantitative data was collected first followed by qualitative tools to explain key patterns and trends, helped create a coherent and more comprehensive picture of SMOs and their employees.

Chapter 5 examines the *entry paths of SMO workers*, looking primarily at educational choices and parental occupations. It continues by reviewing the *workers' characteristics and working conditions*. It focuses on three aspects of working conditions: tenure, working hours, and salary. It further compares SMO workers with other workers in the Israeli labour market to contextualise workers' attributes and working conditions. Finally, Chapter 5 looks at the boundaries of the definition of work and workers and refers to those who are employed using a different method than monthly payment, with a particular focus on *freelancers* and their similarities and dissimilarities to monthly paid workers.

Chapter 6 examines both the individual and the organisational levels to *explore inequalities among SMO employees*. Working conditions are compared between men and women, and between Palestinians and Jews. However, inequalities are not just present between workers within one SMO, this is also present when comparing different SMOs as well. Therefore, in this chapter I use aggregated measures of gender, nationality, and school years in the different SMOs and examine how they affect working conditions, once controlling for the individual effects. I also examine how the proportion of unionised workers affects working conditions. Given the specific values of SMOs, these employment dynamics are critically examined.

Chapter 7 focuses on the organisational level and has two related goals. First of all, addressing the issue of operationalising professionalisation, I attempt to create a *professionalisation scale*. This is done by using factor analysis to see if the different aspects that are mentioned as part of the professionalisation process in the literature fit together empirically. This scale is then used in conjunction with other organisational level variables measuring the size of the organisation, and with the organisational composition measures, in multilevel models. These models control for individual level variables and explore *organisational effects on working conditions*.

Chapter 8 returns to the individual level and focuses on motivations and satisfaction

levels of SMO workers, as well as their career paths. It aims to discover what drives individuals to remain SMO workers, albeit in different SMOs in some cases. Workers' considerations are examined on an axis ranging from ideological to practical, and a variety of reasons to be SMO workers are explored. Understanding these findings is assisted by the concept of an *activist career* – building a career as an SMO worker, in which moving from one SMO to the other is preferred over leaving the SMO sector.

Chapter 9 concludes by assessing the generalisability of the research findings, and their potential use in further research and policy. It suggests that using quantitative measures generally, and the use of the professionalisation scale developed in Chapter 5 specifically, can enhance the understanding social movement literature as well as other bodies of research have of professionalisation processes. It is restated that despite some specific elements relating to the researched SMOs, many of the logics and mechanisms found in this thesis could be generalised to other cases as well. In particular, a critical view of SMO employment practices and of the possible effects of professionalisation are recommended. This chapter also suggests areas of policy for SMOs and funding bodies to consider, which could improve working conditions and promote equality among SMO workers.

Chapter 2: The Research Context

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I aim to present both the political and the organisational context for my research. On the **political level**, I would like to show how the researched SMOs operate within complicated, and at times even threatening, situations and atmosphere, to which they respond in various ways. In Tilly and Tarrow's (2007) description of professionalisation⁴, they present two strands of the professionalisation process: institutionalisation, and a lower level of conflictuality. In this thesis, I explore the issue of institutionalisation in depth. I do not empirically test conflictuality among the researched SMOs, but I review existing literature on the topic, and show that a range of conflictuality levels exists among Israeli peace and anti-occupation SMOs. On the **organisational level**, I aim to show the large range of activity areas, both in my sample and in general.

Although this thesis mainly uses the resource mobilisation aspect of Social Movement Theory⁵, this chapter uses a political opportunity (or political process) perspective (Hermann, 1996) to understand the emergence and consolidation of the peace and anti-occupation social movement in Israel. This perspective explains the emergence of social movements by referring to political processes and events which enable collective action as well as motivate protest (e.g. McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald, 1996). The two theories both present a realistic, and to some extent rational, point of view of social movements, and I argue that this case is an example of how they work well together. These theories are useful for explaining the different facets of the researched SMOs from a perspective that takes both the political, social, and organisational context and the practical opportunities it offers into account.

Israeli peace and anti-occupation organisations are the focus of substantial public and scholarly interest (e.g. Svirsky, 2014; Hermann, 2009; Lieberfeld, 2009; Rogers and Ben-David, 2008; Meyer, 2004; Gordon, 2003; Gidron et al., 2002; Peleg, 2000; Helman, 1999; Bar-On, 1996; Hunt and Benford, 1994; Frank, 1981). As explained in

⁴ Which will be discussed further in chapter 3.

⁵ Which will be reviewed in detail in chapter 3.

the introduction, these organisations make up the case study I will use to answer my research questions, thus adding to this growing body of literature. I use the term 'case study' in order to signify the choice of a single case which could later be used for generalisation, but this does not mean that the research has been limited to qualitative methods (Gerring, 2004). As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, I believe that this case study provides a good basis for generalisation to other Israeli SMOs, and more generally to SMOs in western societies. However, like any case study, it has unique characteristics which should be considered if generalising to the larger population. Specifically, While the organisational features, activity areas, and different levels of professionalisation in this case study all enable generalisation, the specific political situation is an extreme case which should be taken into account when generalising from this case to other social movements.

The following section (2.2) offers a condensed review of the historical and political context, with specific regard to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. It places the historical development of peace and anti-occupation organisations within this context, and offers a glimpse into the general atmosphere that Israeli peace activists live in and experience. Section 2.3 reviews the development and current state of Israeli civil society and social movements. Israel is a relatively young state that was, in its early decades, led by a single party with very little opposition. Since then, Israel has had a fast-growing civil society. While it only started to substantially develop in the 1970s, it is now a similar size (relative to the size of the country) to other western countries. It has rapidly gone through the same processes as other western civil societies – those of growth and professionalisation. However, while these processes started off in the 1960s in the United States, for example (Jenkins & Eckert 1986; Oliver 1989; Staggenborg 1988) – they only developed in the 1980s in Israel (Gidron et. al, 2003). Section 2.3 therefore demonstrates the effects of the political and historical elements mentioned in Section 2.2 on the development of civil society in Israel. Section 2.4 looks specifically at the history of peace and anti-occupation organisations, presenting milestones in their development. Additionally it asserts that contrary to the claims presented in past analysis, these organisations are consolidating, and as a solution to the conflict seems further away than ever, peace and anti-occupation organisations intend to keep working in order to bring it to an end and to negate its effects. Section 2.5 examines

the characteristics of these organisations based on empirical findings from the current study. It highlights their extensive variation in size, focus, and organisation type. Section 2.6 concludes by reassessing the suitability of Israeli peace SMOs as the case study for this thesis.

2.2 Historic and Political Context

This section provides a short background to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. This context dictates, to a large extent, the position of peace and anti-occupation SMO workers within Israeli society. It is vital to understand this position in order to understand the motivations and characteristics of these workers. Chapter 8, which discusses the motivations of SMO workers, shows how they tend to define themselves as politically left-wing. In Israel today, this choice is highly influenced by personal, familial and national background, and can come at the cost of exposure to violence and discrimination. A conscientious objector, for example, may face difficulties when applying for a job, may not enjoy some housing benefits, and may be banned from applying to certain academic scholarships. More broadly, those who participate in anti-war demonstrations are subject to verbal and physical abuse (e.g. Cohen, 16.4.2012; Arad, 20.7.2014), and making a statement against the war on a social media website can lead to abusive messages. Also worth mentioning here are lists of names, addresses and phone numbers of leading activists that were published and shared on right wing websites, leading to hostile emails, phone threats, phone harassment, and graffiti, all personally targeted at peace activists and peace SMO workers. The workers in this research, thus, chose their profession despite this atmosphere. In Chapter 8, I argue that SMO work can lead into an activist career, in which one SMO position follows the other, and leaving this sector to work in another could be difficult. This difficulty should be considered in the specific context of Israeli politics, in which the ideological differences between this sector and other sectors are intensified, making it more difficult to depart from the SMO sector.

Choosing the starting point of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is not a straightforward task. The origins of the conflict could be traced back to the beginning of the substantial Jewish immigration waves before WW1, armed with an ideology that denied the existence of a nation in Palestine. Another view would trace those origins to 1967,

seeing the 1967 war as the origins of the Israeli occupation and therefore of the entire Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Each starting point entails its own set of definitions and ideology, as well as its own historic controversies (Herzog, 2000). My own (political) choice of a starting point is 1948 – a starting point which emphasises the Naqba of 1948 – the Israeli occupation of Palestinian territories which is not limited to the West Bank and Gaza.

In **1948**, following the UN decision of partition of Israel between Jews and Palestinians of 1947, and the withdrawal of the British mandate in 1948, a war emerged between Israel and the surrounding Arab countries.⁶ It resulted in an Israeli victory and in the creation of the Palestinian refugee problem. Scholars have disagreed on the causes of the refugee problem – whether Palestinians left their homes voluntarily, under the instructions of Arab troop commanders, or were banished by the Israeli army (Pappé, 2006; Ram, 1996; Morris, 1987). Both sides, however, agree that the Israeli government has actively prevented over half of the Palestinian population from returning to their homes in what would become the state of Israel (Reinhart, 2006). In the years that followed the 1948 war the Israeli army has policed the Palestinians who remained in Israel, limiting their ability to travel and work.

In the **1967** Six-Days War and the following 1973 Yom Kipur war, Israel tripled its size, occupying the Golan Heights from Syria, the West Bank from Jordan, and the Sinai peninsula and Gaza strip from Egypt. In addition to the 300,000 Palestinians who lived in Israel until that time, Israel has occupied a territory with approximately one million additional Palestinians⁷ (Segev, 2005).

In **1977**, the centralist and socialist Mapai Party (today Ha'avoda – Labour Party) failed to win the elections for the first time since the establishment of the state of Israel (Shamir and Shamir, 1993). Its place was taken by Likud, a right-wing party. For the first time, the Israeli left found itself in opposition. Many supporters of peace, who felt that their views were being expressed by the continuous Labour government, now saw a need to express their views and support peace by extra-parliamentary means. The

⁶ The name given to this war is a source of controversy: Israel celebrates it as the 'Atzma'ut' – the independence of the state and land of Israel. Palestinians see it as the 'Naqba' – the catastrophe, in which they lost their lands and many lives (Sa'di, 2002).

⁷ Israeli Knesset – Lexicon of Terms [last access: 06/11/2011].

new government was also less centralist in its control over citizens' daily lives,⁸ which enabled a more critical and lively civil society in Israel. These developments prompted the creation of the peace social movement (Hermann, 2009). The rise of a right-wing party has enabled the creation of the peace social movement for three main reasons. First, while the left-wing Labour Party led Israel politically, leftist interests had a clear representation in the coalition – at least on a rhetorical level. Once the left became the opposition, it felt a greater need to make itself heard, partly through social movement activity. Second, the transition itself was eye-opening and created a larger interest in politics by left-wingers. Finally, the Israeli Labour Party was not only leftist, but also extremely centralist – and its weakening enabled protest to emerge. This perception of the way in which political events enable and encourage civil society development, which will be repeated with a specific emphasis on the emergence of social movements in the following section, exemplifies the political process theory, which sees social movements as rational entities that act for social change, and whose emergence and consolidation depend on practical conditions (Hermann, 2009).

1982 saw the Lebanon War. The war, and the following maintenance of the Israeli Defence Forces' presence in Lebanon, were heavily criticised in Israel. As openly criticising a war became somewhat legitimate, the legitimacy and political power of peace organisations grew. This provided further support to the creation of SMOs that resist Israel's military actions. As will be detailed in the following section, some of the SMOs that were established with the goal of putting an end to the Lebanon War have achieved the ultimate goal of an SMO: to be dismantled as their goal was fully achieved. These are direct reactions of creation and dissemblance of SMOs as response to political events. As such, they demonstrate the political process theory well, by using political events and environment to explain both the motivations and the opportunities for activism.

In **1987** the first Palestinian uprising – the Intifada - began. During the next six years (1987 – 1993) Palestinians, both inside Israel and in the occupied territories, demonstrated against the Israeli occupation. Their protests were fiercely and violently

⁸ For example, the labour party also had control of the biggest labour union in Israel, and so had a large amount of control over the Israeli labour market.

oppressed by the Israeli army and police (Inbar, 1991). The Oslo Peace Accords in **1993** brought an end to the Intifada (Fielding, 2003). The accords marked the beginning of the 'Road Map' – a series of diplomatic steps towards Israeli-Palestinian peace, and were accompanied by large foreign investments in civil society organisations both in Israel and in Palestine (Gidron, Katz, and Hasenfeld, 2002). In **1994** Israel and Jordan signed a peace treaty. Despite this wave of diplomatic negotiations in the first half of the 1990s, this period was also characterised by a series of suicide bombings that killed Israeli citizens, and numerous objections from both sides to the forming peace process. In **1995** Yitzhak Rabin, the Israeli prime-minister who signed the Oslo Accords, was murdered by a right-wing religious Israeli Jew, at the end of a peace rally. Rabin had become a symbol of peace, who is still present in current Israeli debates (Feige, 1999).

The Road Map, formed at the Oslo Accords, was violated by both sides. Though there is a broad agreement in Israeli public opinion that a withdrawal from some of the occupied territories in exchange for peace is a desirable outcome (Waxman, 2008), Israeli leadership claims such an agreement with the Palestinians is impossible to reach. The Camp David summit, held in **2000**, brought many Israelis to believe that the Palestinians cannot be partners for peace. This was because Ehud Barak, the prime-minister at the time (from the Labour party) repeatedly argued that he had offered vast compromises to the Palestinians, which they chose to decline. **October 2000** witnessed the second Palestinian uprising – the Al-Aqsa Intifada – during which Palestinians protested and used suicide bombing, and Israel executed 'targeted killings' of Palestinians who were allegedly part of terror units,⁹ and responded to Palestinian protest with extreme violence. This included the killing of protesters. In May 2000 Israel withdrew its forces from the south of Lebanon, despite the IDF's opposition, an act that can be seen as the successful result of the Israeli peace SMOs that targeted Israel's presence in Lebanon (Sela, 2007). Section 4 of this chapter reviews Israeli peace and anti-occupation SMOs, including those who objected the IDF's presence in Lebanon.

⁹ This method was criticized by peace activists for violating international law, and for killing many innocent bystanders in the process.

In **2005**, Israel dismantled the Israeli settlements in the Gaza strip and withdrew the IDF presence in the strip. Though the Gaza strip has been under notional Palestinian rule since then, the Israeli army is operating a siege on Gaza controlling the sea and land borders of the strip. This includes limiting supplies of food, fuel and electricity, while Palestinian forces fire rockets at Israeli villages and cities. In **2008** the Cast Lead conflict erupted - three weeks of unprecedented killing of civilians and destroying of buildings and infrastructure. The off-and-on routine of Israeli bombings on Gaza, missiles shot from Gaza into Israel, with a wider Israeli attack on Gaza once every few years, has been going on ever since.¹⁰

The seeming failure of the peace accords and of the Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza strip delegitimise those who express support for peace with Palestinians in the Israeli public. Contrary to the optimism of the 1980s and early 1990s, the peace movement currently suffers from a lack of legitimacy. This decreased legitimacy enhances the separation of working in the SMO sector and working elsewhere, which will be discussed in Chapter 8. Therefore, the political processes and opportunities have a direct effect on activists' motivations as well as on the movements' resources and feasibility. In other words, the relationship between political events and atmosphere and social movements explained by the political process theory, is helpful here in understanding the array of considerations explained by the resource mobilization theory.

This section has provided a short timeline of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, which is the focus of the researched organisations' activity. It also offers an important context for the SMO workers' lives. In this section, I focused on the political events that inspired, enabled, and encouraged the creation and continuation of the Israeli peace movement. As mentioned, this aligning of the movement's creation with political events is in line with the political opportunity theory which explains the creation of social movements by looking at the political processes enabling them (McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald, 1996). This theory will be expanded on in the next chapter, but the importance of wider political and economic processes to understanding the creation

¹⁰ Written in July 2014 – during operation “Protective Edge”, which repeats the goals and actions of operations “Pillar of Defense” in 2012 and of operation “Cast Lead” of 2008.

and development of civil society will be demonstrated throughout the current chapter. The following section will aim to provide background to the inception and consolidation of Israeli civil society, which includes the Israeli peace movement, as well as other movements and organisations.

2.3 Israeli Civil Society and Social Movements

Alongside the historical and political context of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, the history of Israeli civil society is important to the understanding of peace and anti-occupation organisations. This section examines the Israeli civil society as a whole, as well as the development of contentious politics and protesting organisations in Israel. It does so in light of the social and political factors affecting, delaying and enabling the creation of Israeli civil society that were reviewed in the previous section.

Under the British Mandate, voluntary and autonomous organisations formed the centre of Jewish life in Palestine, and provided political leadership as well as welfare services (Eisenstaedt, 1969). In 1948, with the establishment of the state of Israel, these institutions formed the organisational basis for the state. Some, like the military organisations, have converged into the state apparatus, while others have retained their status as non-governmental. In the first decades after the establishment of the Israeli state, events of protest were relatively scarce (Leiman-Wilzeig, 1992; Sprinzak, 1986). The leaders of these events were usually either Mizrachi Jews¹¹ or Palestinians, joined by a limited number of Ashkenazi Jews. The two main causes for the scarcity of protest in these early years of the Israeli state were (1) the feeling that protest could overburden the young state, and (2) the overpowering strength of the Mapai Party that left little room for contentious politics. When protest did arise during these decades, it was handled fiercely by state authorities (Hermann, 1999).

Though some third sector organisations have existed since (and before) 1948, the Israeli third sector grew significantly since the 1970s and especially during the 1980s. This growth took two distinct, and possibly opposite, routes: on the one hand, extreme orthodox organisations, especially educational establishments; and on the other hand,

¹¹ The literature refers to this group as Sefaradi Jews. However, up-to-date discussion raises the argument that the proper name, which carries political meanings and is more direct, is Mizrachi Jews.

universalistic organisations. The latter direction is comprised of charities, service-providing organisations, and peace and anti-occupation organisations (Gidron et al., 2003). Since the 1980s Palestinian Israeli NGOs have also grown significantly, using the liberal-democratic rights of association to “challenge [the Palestinians’] marginality and reduce inequalities” (Payes, 2003: 60). The following section will review these organisations in greater detail.

The growth of Israeli social movements, signified by their contentious approach and desire for social change, is an important part of the development of the Israeli civil society. However, the creation and consolidation of Israeli social movements have distinct characteristics. In the early 1970s, the Mizrachi Black Panthers, who protested against the discrimination of Mizrachi Jews in Israel, received relatively large public support. This perhaps signified the coming changes in the rise of contentious politics in Israel (Bernstein, 1979). Later in the 1970s, protests became a more prevalent phenomenon. This was led by the formation of two mass movements: the right wing Gush Emunim, established in 1974, which has been promoting the idea of “the whole land of Israel” and the establishment of settlements, and the left wing Peace Now which stands for peace and which objects to the Israeli occupation of Palestinian territories, established in 1978.

These social movements have been enabled by political changes. Contentious politics in Israel were influenced by the waves of protest of the 1960s in Europe and the United States. Another catalyst was the 1973 Yom Kippur War that diminished the status of Mapai leaders, and of the Israeli state leaders more generally (Gidron et al., 2002). The declining status of parties, and of state unity in Israel more generally, is closely related to the rise of civil society. These changes provided both an ideological space for contention, and a less limiting organisational structure of the state and its extensions (Yishai, 1998). This analysis, again, fits well with political opportunity theory.

The state of Israel responded to this accelerated growth of third sector organisations with the Law of Associations (billed in 1980) which regulates the registration of new associations. The 1996 amendment to the law provides extensive regulation authority to the Bureau of Associations, allowing it to act legally against associations that do not comply with regulations, including work for the association’s stated purposes and

monetary management. This law is often criticised for not adapting well enough to new forms of organisation, especially those that blur the boundaries between the third sector and the private sector (Limor, 2004). The organisations affected by this lack of adaptation are those highly professionalised, wishing to become fourth sector organisations – with a double bottom line that is both financial and social. At the moment, these organisations must register as for-profit companies, they do not enjoy the adjustments for associations, and are not required to adhere to the same regulations. As this development is held back by bureaucracy, this could be seen as a way in which state bureaucracy is slowing down some civil society professionalisation processes.

Further growth in Israeli civil society since the early 1980s has been closely related to economic factors. Following a series of economic crises as well as the rise of the Israeli right wing to power in 1977, Israel declared its intentions to privatise some of its enterprises – intentions which became reality in the 1980s (Aharoni, 1998). In these years the state of Israel sought to reduce its costs and privatised some of the services that were previously the state's responsibility into the hands of non-governmental organisations (Gidron et al., 2003). In many cases, the status of being non-governmental had very few consequences for the organisations' activities, as these organisations have been funded, directed, and controlled by the Israeli government. In other words, they have by no means been autonomous of it (ibid). For this reason, the concept of a distinct third sector was claimed not to exist in Israel (Gidron, 1992). Nonetheless, the transition of some services from being provided by the state to being provided by the third sector has significant implications not only for the responsibility of the state for various services, but also, and perhaps most importantly for this thesis, for working conditions. While state employees have traditionally been unionised (Haberfeld, 1995) and received relatively good protection from exploitative employment agreements, workers in smaller organisations find it harder to unionise and protect themselves.

Today, Israeli civil society is continually growing and has an increasingly important voice in the Israeli public sphere (Katz, Gidron and Limor, 2009). Despite Gidron's (1992) past claim of the lack of a distinct civil society in Israel, in their mapping, as part of the Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project (CNP), Gidron et al.

(2003) provide a thorough examination of it. They portray a picture of a third sector that is similar in size (relative to country size) to other western countries, with a structure comprised of several very big organisations, and many small ones. In 1995, 9.3% of all non-agricultural employment in Israel (the equivalent of 150,000 full-time appointments) was in the third sector, a rate that exceeds the average for developed countries (ibid). Limor (2004) estimates the number of active third sector organisations that employed workers in 2004 in the range between 7000 and 9000 associations. In 1995, 64% of the funding for the third sector came from the public budget (compared to 39% in Britain in 1999).

Compared to the US and the UK, the Israeli third sector earns a substantially lower percentage of its income from membership and selling services: 26% of Israeli organisations' income comes from these sources, compared to 48% in the UK and over 73% in the US. This supports Gidron's (1992) early thesis regarding the high level of dependence of Israeli civil society upon the Israeli state. Professionalisation will be described theoretically in Chapter 3, and explored empirically in Chapter 7, but a significant part of it is the constant need to raise more and more funds to support professionalised activities (Everett, 1992). This process does exist in Israel, and particularly in the Israeli peace movement that is less supported by the state, but it is less prominent than elsewhere due to the large extent of state support for civil society organisations' activities.

The main reason that makes Israeli civil society appropriate as a case study for this research is the processes of privatisation, flexibilisation of the labour market, and professionalisation of SMOs, which are prominent in Israel. As the effect of these processes is the focus of this research, their strong presence in Israeli public life in the last few decades is vital for this project. As mentioned earlier, since the 1980s, Israeli governments have privatised organisations and services on a large scale, and the Israeli labour market is increasingly flexible. Over the last three decades, Israeli civil society organisations have exemplified the growth and professionalisation of civil society (Kaufman and Gidron, 2006; Oser, 2010). Peace and anti-occupation organisations started to professionalise – raising funds regularly, becoming more specific, employing workers on larger scales and changing their organisational structure to be

more bureaucratic - later, in the 1990s (Hermann, 2009). Those of them that employ workers, who are the focus of this study, have all been professionalised to some degree, as detailed in Chapter 7. Additionally, Israeli peace SMOs manifest the large spectrum of professionalisation, allowing this analysis to examine the effect of the organisations' professionalisation level on their workers. Comparing organisations that are in different levels of professionalisation, while controlling for other key variables, will be central in the understanding of the effect of the professionalisation process on working conditions.

As I claimed in this section, civil society and social movements have developed in Israel in a way that relates to their development in other developed countries, but also maintains some unique characteristics. The Israeli-Palestinian conflict, together with the relatively young age of the Israeli state, posed limitations to the development of the Israeli civil society that remains reliant on the Israeli state to a larger degree than civil society in other countries. However, as in other places, a combination of economic processes and political opportunities offer the best explanation for the development of civil society in Israel. The next section will focus on peace and anti-occupation organisations, a specific case of social movement that also represents a wide variety of third sector organisations.

2.4 Peace and Anti-Occupation Organisations in Israel

This section will follow the development of the Israeli peace movement and offer a historical understanding of its creation, from the mandated territory of Palestine of the 1920s until today. The Israeli peace movement has never been very big numerically. Hermann (2009: 62) estimates its size as ranging "from several tens of activists in the 1920s and 1930s, to hundreds in the 1950s and late 1960s, to thousands and even a few tens of thousands in the late 1970s, the 1980s, and the early 1990s (most of them supporters), to a few thousand and even less in the late 1990s, and even fewer than that in the 2000s."

Peace and anti-occupation organisations in Israel have been the focus of previous research (e.g. Gidron et al., 2002; Lieberfeld, 2009). In 2009 Tamar Hermann published *The Israeli Peace Movement: A Shattered Dream*, which provides an in-

depth account of the movement from the political opportunity structure approach. This thorough review of both the history and the present challenges (as of 2008) is a valuable resource, and was used in this historic review. In the appendix to this book, Hermann outlines a list of peace groups and organisations. This list highlights how difficult the task is of accounting for all of these groups. Some groups, such as student and women's movements, are under-represented in this list. The prominent student group Coalition of Students and women's organisation Achoti-My Sister for instance, are absent. I believe that these omissions are not a result of incomprehensive research, but testify to the field being very dynamic and comprised of very different organisations.

As will be explained in more detail in Chapter 4, my sampling is based on premises which are suitable to sample organisations that operate today and employ workers. These premises are different from those used by Hermann (2009). However, to offer a broader picture of the Israeli peace movement, I used notable organisations from Hermann's list, with a few additions of my own, to create the time-line of the establishment of peace and anti-occupation organisations presented in Figure 2.1. The figure presents this time-line starting in 1978, since before this year the organisations were too scarce to present effectively. This time-line reveals the relevance of the political process theory to understanding the Israeli peace movement. Using it, I go beyond Hermann's (2009) description of peace and anti-occupation organisations as being 'in the dark' since the 1990s. Though the current political situation in Israel does not provide many reasons for hope, many organisations have been established since 1999, and they do come up with ground-breaking ideas, such as more focus on the economic aspects of the occupation, or solidarity work with Palestinian activists and farmers in the West Bank. I will discuss the present and possible future of peace and anti-occupation organisations in Israel in greater detail at the end of this section.

The first Jewish peace group in the mandated territory of Palestine – Peace Covenant (Brit Shalom) - emerged in 1925, and was considered a naïve and somewhat disconnected group, composed mainly of academics (Amram, 2011). Its activity included holding meetings and publishing texts to advance its members' ideas. Peace Covenant was active for six years, and formally existed for a further two years, until

deep political disagreements between its members led to its official disintegration in 1933 (Heller, 2003; Hermann, 1989, 2005). In the following decades, as described in the previous section, Israeli civil society was heavily controlled by the state and thus protest was a rare phenomenon. In 1942, during World War II, the Union (Ihud) was established. It is sometimes perceived as a continuation of Peace Covenant as it operated in a very similar way, comprising an academic elite and voicing extremely unpopular opinions. Ihud promoted antimilitarism in the emerging state of Israel, and opposed the construction of Israel's nuclear plan (Hermann, 1989; Hermann, 2009). Another group operating in the early 1950s was the Israeli Peace Committee, which was related to the Socialist Party and the Communist Party (Hermann, 2009). The Committee's use of its relations with these parties to make its views heard highlights the importance of party politics in Israeli politics during the first decades of the state. Following the low levels of support these organisations received in the early 1950s, not a single new organisation was formed in the late 1950s (ibid).

After the 1967 Six Days War, two opposite extraparlimentary movements were created: The right-wing Movement for Greater Israel (which included, and later was embodied by, Gush Emunim), and in response to it – the left-wing Movement for Peace and Security. The Movement for Peace and Security was similar to Peace Covenant in that it had a loose organisational structure, was comprised mainly of academics, and had stopped all activities by the 1973 Yom Kipur War (Yishai, 1987). Three very different organisations have emerged in the late 1970s: the small religious organisation Courage and Peace (Oz v'Shalom) in 1975, the intellectual circle Israeli Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace in 1976, and the collaborative Jewish-Palestinian village Oasis of Peace (Neve Shalom) in 1977 (ibid). To the best of my knowledge, and despite Israeli peace organizations being widely researched, there is no review of employment in them. Nevertheless, again to the best of my knowledge, none of the pre-1978 organisations employed any workers.

As explained in Section 2.2, the 1977 political overturn of the leading Labour Party by the right-wing Likud Party fractured the centralistic Israeli party system and enabled the emergence – and later the consolidation – of Israeli civil society in general, and of the peace movement in particular (Shapira, 1984). Furthermore, many left-wing

citizens feared that the right-wing government would sabotage the negotiated peace treaty with Egypt (which was signed by the right-wing prime-minister Menachem Begin in 1979), and expand settlements in the occupied territories. This perception of the government allowed for left-wing peace organisations to be seen as purposeful by parts of the Israeli mainstream, since the perceived goals of the movement were seen as realistic and desirable. This form of public legitimacy enabled the peace movement to expand beyond the narrow radical left (Gidron et al., 2002). This “golden age of Israeli peace activism” (Hermann, 2009: 88) started with the Officers’ Letter – a letter from Israeli army officers to Prime Minister Begin supporting a peace treaty with Egypt. This letter, sent in 1978, led to the creation of **Peace Now** (Shalom Achshav)¹², one of the biggest and most influential peace organisations in Israel, later that year. Peace Now has emphasised, throughout its existence, its support for Zionism and for the IDF (Feige, 1998). This stance has placed it as one of the more mainstream voices within the movement. Today, Peace Now employs workers, and is still a prominent representation of peace organizations in the Israeli public. However, as Hermann (2009) notes, the entire Israeli peace movement, which included up to hundreds of thousands in the 1980s and early 1990s, only includes thousands these days.

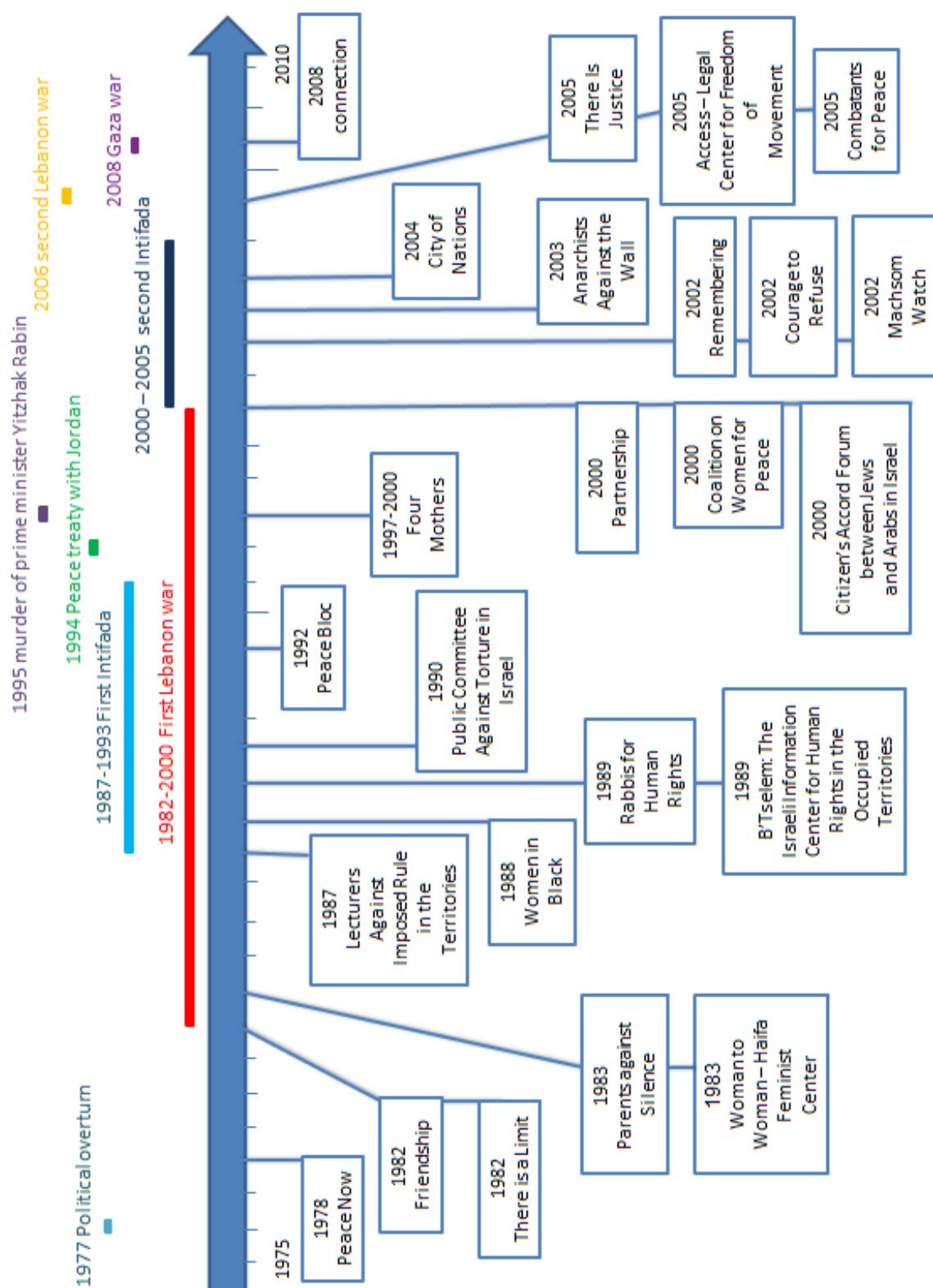
As a consequence of the public disagreement around the 1982 Lebanon War, 1982 saw the establishment of the volunteer-based **There is a Limit** (Yesh Gvul) which promotes selective conscientious objection. This form of conscientious objection does not oppose joining the IDF in general, however it criticises the IDF operations in the occupied territories and refuses to take part in them. Another organisation founded in 1982 is the youth and student organisation **Friendship** (Reut-Sadaka), focusing on educational activities for youth and young individuals, which employ workers in different educational roles. As the Lebanon War continued, **Parents Against Silence** (initially Mothers Against Silence) started an organisational model of activity focused on using the members’ parental status to make claims against war and for the safety of the soldiers (Muhlbauer, 2001: 291). As the group had no political agenda beyond the demand to withdraw Israeli forces from Lebanon (Zukerman-Bareli and Bensky, 1989), it dissolved in 1984 when the forces were withdrawn. The fact that the

¹² Organisations appearing in Figure 2.1 are in bold in the text.

organisation had no workers could arguably have contributed to its discontinuation. **Woman to Woman** (Isha L'Isha) is another group that formed in 1983. It operates in various areas related to both feminism and peace, and employs women in various capacities.

Lecturers against imposed rules in the Territories (Ad Kan), which was an organisation of anti-occupation lecturers, was launched with the first Intifada at 1987, and operated until the Oslo Accords started. A continuation of this initiative can be seen in the 1996 creation of the Campus isn't Silent. Both initiatives are based on their members' professional status as lecturers, and so did and do not employ workers. The feminist, informal, and non-hierarchic **Women in Black** was launched in 1988, and has operated weekly vigils ever since. It is part of an international volunteer-based organization. Physicians for Human Rights was also formed in 1988 and is an organisation that operates across all territories under Israeli control. They provide medical services to those with limited to no access to healthcare. This organisation involves a core of doctors and administrative workers who work for the organisation as well as doctors who volunteer their time. Another group that operates a similar structure of worker and volunteers is the prominent religious group **Rabbis for Human Rights**, which was set up in 1989. To this day, the organisation provides daily support for Palestinians in the occupied territories and campaigns for human rights. Another group focusing on human rights is **The Israeli Information Centre for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories** (B'tselem). It was formed in 1989 and conducts substantial and systematic research on human rights violations. The **Public Committee against Torture in Israel** was established in 1990, and campaigns to end the use of torture in Israel. Both organizations are active today and employ workers. In 1990 the prominent peace activist Uri Avnery established **Peace Block** (Gush Shalom). While the previously mentioned Peace Now supported Zionism and the IDF, Peace Block presented a more radical stance, objecting to the IDF more broadly and not only in direct

Figure 2.1 – Time-Line of Peace and Anti-Occupation Organisations since 1978



relation to the occupied territories. Peace Block is a volunteer-based organisation, but employs an administrative assistant.

Since the early 1990s peace and anti-occupation organisations have begun to professionalise, despite some smaller scale employment earlier on (Hermann, 2009). This happened alongside a broader process of professionalisation in Israeli civil society, and the increased funding directed to the peace movement in the years before the Oslo Accords. Yet again, this development of the social movement is enabled and encouraged by political opportunities and practical considerations. First, the professionalization of Israeli civil society, prompted by the privatisation of the 1980s and early 1990s, has included the activity of peace SMOs. This was particularly true for those SMOs that focused on issues such as education or employment, which were provided by the state and privatised. Privatisation, while at the same time giving civil society organisations new responsibilities, also provides them with state funding to provide their services, thus supporting professionalization and specialisation processes. Additionally, in the pre-Oslo Accords years, the Palestinian-Israeli conflict was at the centre of global attention, and of particular interest to the Clinton Administration in the United States. This attention and the international desire and hope to bring an end to the conflict encouraged a large surge of income to the Israeli and Palestinian peace movement. Both of these processes combine a political effect with a financial effect, exemplifying the relevance of political opportunity theory (McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald, 1996), and of the resource mobilisation theory focusing on financial, and other, resources (Zald and McCarthy, 1980).

In 1997, **Four Mothers** (Arba Imahot) followed the footsteps of Parents Against Silence and called for a full withdrawal of the Israeli forces from Lebanon, until this withdrawal finally happened in 2000. During its years of activity, this was a largely volunteer-based movement, which employed an administrative assistant. In 1998, New Profile – a feminist organisation working for demilitarization of Israeli society and to support contentious objectors – was initiated. New Profile's work is shared between workers and volunteers. Two organisations operating as forums or coalitions of other organisations were established in 2000: the more general **Partnership** (Shutafut-Sharaka), and the feminist **Coalition of Women for Peace**. Both have gone beyond

merely providing a space for collaboration between organisations, and have launched their own projects. The Coalition of Women for Peace has launched the influential Who Profits from the Occupation project – critiquing the financial elements of the occupation. In 2013, the Who Profits project became an independent SMO. Both the Coalition itself and the Who Profits project employ workers. Also in 2000, the relatively mainstream **Citizens Accord Forum between Jews and Arabs** in Israel, which focuses on creating meetings between Jews and Palestinians and does not openly criticize Israel, was formed, and employs several workers today.

Remembering (Zochrot) was launched in 2002 with the goal of educating and collecting data related to the Naqba – the 1948 disaster for Palestinians. The standpoint of this organisation – including the right to return for Palestinians to areas taken during both in 1948 and 1967 – is considered radical in the Israeli public. It employs several workers. **Courage to Refuse**, established in 2002, is an organisation that considers itself Zionist and calls for selective conscientious objection, much like There is a Limit which was mentioned earlier. It was preceded by the Shministim Letter of 2001 – a letter by final year high-school students (“Shministim”) that called for any types of conscientious objection to participation in the occupation and war crimes committed by the Israeli army and government. Further Shministim letters were sent in 2002, 2005, 2009, and 2011. The organisation has several hundreds of members, but no information on employment was found.

Machsom Watch, which was also formed in 2002, is a women’s organisation which focuses specifically on the IDF activity at check points. The organisation offers immediate assistance to Palestinians and criticises and monitors the IDF. It therefore has a tense relationship with the army, like many of the organisations operating in the West Bank. Breaking the Silence, founded in 2004, is an organisation that collects documents and testimonies of army veterans who operated in the occupied territories, testifying on cases of abuse by IDF soldiers against the Palestinian population (Sasson-Levy et al., 2011). **Anarchists against the Wall**, an anarchist and non-hierarchical organisation, was initiated in 2003. It grew out of collaborative activity with Palestinians to object to the separation wall, and is involved in various protest activities in the West Bank and within the 1967 Israeli boundaries. The West Bank is one of the

few places in which Palestinians from the occupied territories and Israeli Jews cooperate in protest (Hallward, 2009). Both Machsom Watch and Anarchists against the wall do not employ workers, and their activity is based on several dozen activists. In contrast to the Anarchists' radical views and modes of operation, **City of Nations** (Ir Amim), which was formed in 2004, works to promote coexistence in Jerusalem in ways which are official and can be described as mainstream, including holding an office and basing its activity on several employees.

Two prominent organisations focusing on legal activity were established in 2005: **There is Justice** (Yesh Din) which aims to defend human rights in the West Bank through legal routes, and **Access** (Gisha) which focuses on the freedom of movement, both in the West Bank and in Gaza, where the siege has made movement an essential issue. Both organisations are quite specialised and are employee based. Also founded in 2005, using their positions as soldiers, **Combatants for Peace** adds to the organisations criticizing the IDF. It is an organisation with a few employees and involves ex-warriors from both Palestinian and Israeli armies who work together to build an alternative to the route of violence. In 2008, **Connection** (Hithabrut-Tarabut) was formed, working both as a wide volunteer-based movement of Palestinians and Jews in Israel, and as an organisation with parliamentary aspirations, which have been realised through a cooperation with the left-wing joint Jewish-Palestinian Hadash Party.

Currently, Israeli peace and anti-occupation SMOs carry social and historic importance. These organisations produce information, campaigns, and other activities that play a significant role in Israeli-Palestinian political and social reality (Gidron et al., 2002; Zemliskaya, 2009). For instance, after the attack on Gaza in 2009, information provided by the Coalition of Women for Peace was used in the writing of the Goldstone Report, which investigated Israeli conduct during the attack (Steinberg, 2011).

Despite (or possibly due to) their importance, peace and anti-occupation organisations do not receive much support in the Israeli society (Hermann, 2009). They are considered to be disconnected and naïve, and are criticised for preferring to support Palestinians rather than Israelis. To offer a partial explanation for this disconnect of

the peace movement from the Israeli public, Helman (2001) claims that peace and anti-occupation organisations are using the ethos of the soldier in creating that of the peace maker. Paradoxically, peace organisations use the warrior image to support their claims – sometimes made by warriors themselves – for legitimacy. This ethos includes “loyalty, masculinity, and military prowess” (Helman, 2001: 296), which are qualities the left is accused of lacking. As (compulsory) army service is often perceived as a signal of membership in Israeli society (Kimmerling, 2005; Zemliskaya, 2009), the warrior ethos is seen as a tool to gain validity for claims that could be seen as signifiers of not belonging. This ethos is restricted to Jews, since only Jews (and some Druse) can serve in the army. It is also restricted to men, because women mostly serve in non-combatant roles. Finally, it is restricted to Ashkenazi Jews who come from families that are middle class or higher, since the army places this profile in roles that are perceived as more important. Because they base their appeal on this ethos, their ability to appeal to other segments of society is limited. The exclusion of Mizrachi Jews is common among the vast majority of peace and anti-occupation organisations (Karpel, 1999; Penkar, 2003), which has led to the creation of Mizrachi organisations such as My Sister and the Mizrachi Democratic Rainbow.

Gender is an important, heavily discussed and researched, issue in the activity of peace and anti-occupation organisations in Israel (and elsewhere). Several academics have looked at the role of women in the protest against the occupation. Amram’s (2011) account of women’s absence from peace building efforts in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict highlights the Israeli feminist movement’s struggle to be included in these processes. Amram stresses the importance of women to peace building over the world, which is manifested in the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 from 2010, to increase women’s participation in these processes.¹³ Until the late 1980s, with the break of the first Intifada, peace activists in Israel were predominantly men. Though after 1987 women became the majority of peace activists, their roles within the organisations remained marginalised (Helman, 2001). This led to the proliferation of women’s organisations for peace, in which women’s voices could be heard. From only three women’s peace organisations operating in Israel in the beginning of the 1980s,

¹³ UN Resolution 1325 (2000). Adopted by the Security Council at its 4213th meeting on 31 October 2000.

Chazan (1991) identifies 170 groups by the end of 1989.¹⁴ Women have a particular position, relying on traditional roles and emphasising different elements of motherhood, in both the state of Israel (Berkovitch, 1997), and the Israeli peace movement (Amram, 2011). Sasson-Levy et al. (2011) examine the unique role of women in the army, in particular the conflict between social expectations from women, especially as mothers and mothers-to-be, and the role of a soldier in the occupied territories. They argue that this conflict has led veteran female IDF soldiers to testify on the IDF's abuse of Palestinians in the occupied territories. Furthermore, women's role as mothers, which is highly regarded in Israel's pro-natal society, was used in organisations such as Four Mothers, in which women demanded peace through their position as soldiers' mothers (Helman, 2001).

This notwithstanding, the level of public legitimacy individual peace organisations enjoy depends on several factors. First, it depends on whether the organisation attempts to communicate with the Israeli public. Some organisations do not see the Israeli public as one of their target audiences, and instead target the international or academic communities, or indeed the Palestinian society. Second, the subjects the organisation tackles affect the support it receives from the Israeli public. Organisations that protest against settlements are relatively well-received as the target of their criticism is a specific group within Israel and not all Israelis. However, the issue of conscientious objection and military service is regarded as being central to Israeli Identity, as previously explained. This makes the organisations that are active regarding these issues less legitimate in Israel. Third, relations with 'outsiders', especially European countries and the EU, are almost regarded as treason. Finally, women's organisations and women activists in general receive sexist as well as racist reactions (Shadmi, 2000).

Exemplifying the lack of support Israeli peace organisations receive, the peace movement has been exposed to violence from objectors to its causes. In February of 1983 a hand grenade was thrown by Yona Avrushmi, a right wing activist, at an anti-war demonstration organised by Peace Now, killing the activist Emil Grunzweig and

¹⁴ These groups include the organisations that will be part of this study, in addition to groups that do not employ salaried workers.

wounding nine others (Hermann, 2009). Until today, Peace and Anti-Occupation organisations are subjected to both institutional scrutiny and limitations, including police investigations and sanctioning peace organisations from receiving the same support that other organisations receive in Israel (e.g. Cohen, 14.8.2014) and to violence from members of the public (Schechter, A. 24.7.2014). Groups operating in the West Bank are subjected to extensive military violence, such as firing metal bullets at protesters (Levinson, 19.9.2010; Misgav, 2012).

In conclusion, the experience of being a peace activist in Israel today is a challenging one. The conflict between Palestine and Israel is characterised by uncertainty, and the prospects of a meaningful peace process in the near future seem slim. The conflict becomes ever more violent and restrictive. Protest meets antagonism and violence from the public, the police, and the IDF. However, peace organisations and groups in Israel are consolidating, stabilising, and increasing the cooperation between them. They receive external support in the form of funds and international solidarity, and develop ways to council and support each other. Unlike the case of Four Mothers who dissolved in 2000 after achieving their goal, I believe that generally speaking, peace organisations that operate in Israel today are here to stay. Using some of the empirical findings of this research, the next section will review the activity areas and organisational characteristics of the researched SMOs, as a way to learn about current Israeli peace SMOs.

2.5 Characteristics of Peace and Anti-Occupation Organisations and Their Workers

Peace and anti-occupation organisations are particularly suitable for this research because they demonstrate a great variation in regard to their roles and organisational structures. Despite the variations between them, peace and anti-occupation organisations in Israel are relatively easily identifiable, which enables me to construct a clear sampling frame – a process fully reviewed in Chapter 4. The variations across organisations will allow me to compare the working conditions between different types of organisations, and to arrive at conclusions that will be relevant for an array of social movement organisations. Flyvberg (2006) refers to this logic as maximum variation,

meaning that a case study is chosen because it contains large diversity. This section will review these elements, based on findings from the organisations that participated in the current research. Therefore, the data are based on a sample of SMOs rather than on an exhaustive list of organisations. However, as the sampling was done randomly, this sample can be assumed to be representative of the full population of Israeli peace SMOs.

Chapter 4 will explain the sampling procedure used in this study in detail, however I would like to comment on the topical boundaries used at this point, as they are relevant to reviewing the organisations' activity areas. The definition of peace and anti-occupation used in this research is a wide one, consisting of organisations aiming to promote peace, and to restore human rights neglected or denied as a result of the conflict. However, Palestinian organisations that provide services to the Palestinian population in Israel and that do not identify themselves as working towards peace or against the occupation will not be part of this research.

I shall now review the characteristics of the researched organisations. Since this is the first time, as far as I can tell, that quantitative data have been gathered on these organisations, this review will be based on research findings. The first element I shall discuss regarding the researched SMOs is their year of inception. Figure 2.1, which was discussed in the previous section, shows a general timeline of Israeli peace SMOs, aimed to reflect the movements' development rather than to include any (or indeed most) organisations. It displays a representation of the Israeli peace movement as a whole, starting in 1978, rather than a description of the SMOs researched in this thesis. The researched SMOs differ from the picture presented in Figure 2.1 mainly because they only include SMOs which are still operating today, and also since this study only includes SMOs that employ workers.

I shall start my investigation of the researched SMOs' characteristics by examining their starting year. The median year of inception is 2011, with a mean of 2007/8, and with a standard deviation of 6.5. This means that while at least half of the organisations started operating in or after 2011, the distribution is skewed and some organisations started operating long before this year. Therefore, the sample consists of a large number of relatively new organisations, disputing Hermann's (2009) claim that the

peace movement is decreasing to some extent. In other words, it may be decreasing in number of activists or members, but not in the number of organisations. On the other hand, the sample also consists of SMOs created much earlier, which will allow me to look at the effect of inception year on working conditions.

I have argued that one of the reasons peace and anti-occupation SMOs in Israel were chosen for this research is that they represent a wide range of organisations, which is manifested in the variety of areas they focus their activities on. One way to see these areas of activity is to think of their parallels in the private and public sectors: organisations in areas such as health, education, law, and media can have vastly different managerial styles, salary levels and organisational cultures (Chatman and Jehn, 1994; Gordon, 1991). The researched SMOs' areas of activity are shown in Figures 2.2 (according to number of organisations) and 2.3 (according to number of workers). The most common areas of activity are *advocacy*, *campaigning*, and *education* – an area which includes both formal education in schools and preschools, and informal education such as after school activities or summer activities for children and youth. More than a third (12 out of 32) of the organisations are working within each of these areas. Advocacy and campaigning both represent attempts to advance agendas – through official channels in the case of advocacy, and through influencing the wider public and decision makers in the case of campaigning. The work of advancing such ideas could be seen as parallel to the work of advertising or sales in the private sector – two areas which are vastly distanced from (either formal or informal) education. The prominence of campaigning and advocacy suggests that these are SMOs wishing to contribute to the wider goals of the social movement they are part of, which are to advance peace and anti-occupation through appealing to the public and convincing policy makers. Education is another route for such changes in public views, however, the change education offers is deeper and slower in nature. On the other hand, the prominence of education reflects the prevalence of SMOs performing activities that were once under state responsibility and have been privatised, as described in Section 2.2. This is because formal and informal educational services have been supplied publically in Israel, but in the last twenty years the number of programmes operated by NGOs (usually related to the government or to market companies) has increased (Paz-Fux, and Ben Simkhon-Peleg, 2014).

The next most prevalent areas are *research* (ten organisations), *interaction* (nine organisations), and *information* (eight organisations). Both research and information attest to the lack of reliable sources of information on various levels and kinds related to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Often, Israeli and Palestinian official sources have different versions of the same event, which creates a need to produce and publish reliable information (for an example of official unreliable information concerning operation Pillar of Defence see Landau, 10.5.2013). Additionally, some organisations research ways in which Israeli-citizen Palestinians are disadvantaged in order to address these disadvantages. Interestingly, only four organisations stated that they both have research capacities and are providing information as part of their task. The commonness of interaction reflects a certain ideology, according to which peace should and can be achieved through interactions between Jews and Palestinians. In some cases, these interactions mainly focus on finding commonalities and creating friendships. This mode of operation is often criticised by other peace SMOs. They criticise the ability of meetings between Jews and Palestinians in and of themselves to promote peace. To address this, some peace SMOs create gatherings that address the conflict in more direct ways – ranging from discussions on the conflict to protesting together.

Figure 2.2 - Number of Organisations in Different Activity Areas

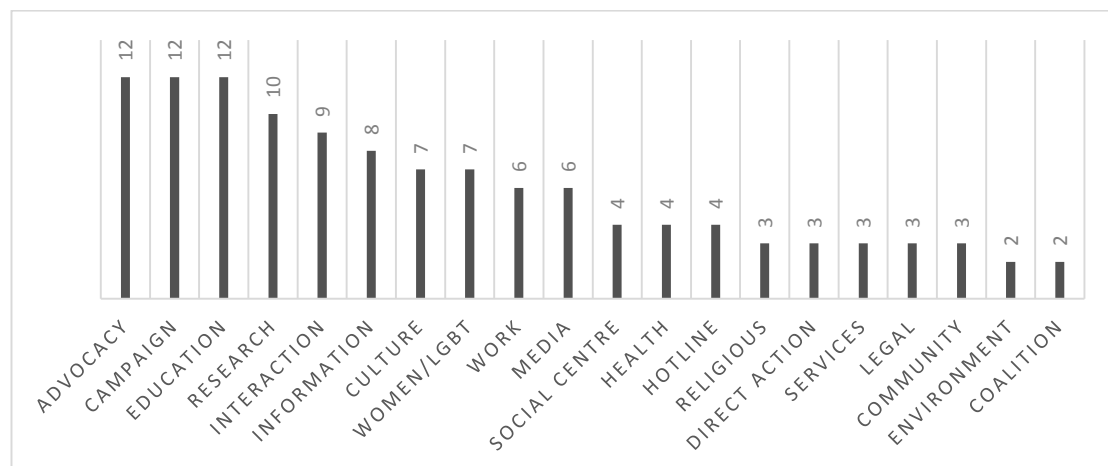
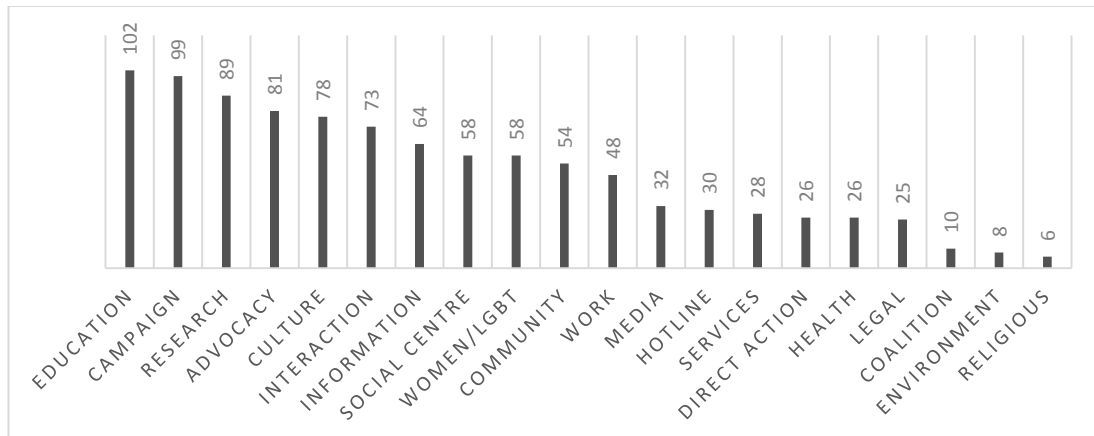


Figure 2.3 - Number of Workers in Different Activity Areas



The next four areas are *culture* (seven organisations), *women/LGBT* (seven organisations), *work* (six organisations), and *media* (six organisations). Both culture and women/LGBT can be defined as not directly related to the conflict itself. Indeed, for some of the organisations these areas reflect a different side, or even a completely different branch, of the organisation. In these cases, working for causes such as supporting independent culture (often by marginalised groups in society) and women/LGBT rights speaks to the organisation's larger commitment to civil and human rights, and generally to civil society values. In other cases, culture and women/LGBT could be an integral part of working toward peace. Work means that the organisation is trying to overcome prejudice and discrimination in the labour market, mainly supporting Palestinians in securing jobs. Just like education, focusing on work in a way that supplements and in some cases replaces governmental services that have traditionally been appointed to provide these services, suggests that these SMOs take part in privatisation of state services to civil society. On the other hand, it reflects a discontent with Israel's treatment of Palestinians who are Israeli citizens. They are subject to inequality in government funding, housing, infrastructure, education (Okun and Fridlander, 2005), employment (Haberfeld and Cohen, 2005) and in the justice system. Focusing on work is, therefore, a way to oppose these disparities (Payes, 2003).

The rest of the activity areas presented in Figures 2.2 and 2.3 show the range and variety of professions (*health* and *law*), organisational arrangements (*social centre*, *hotline*, and *coalition*) and goals (*community*, *environment*, and *religion*). Figure 2.3, which presents the number of workers in the different activity areas, shows a slightly different picture to the one described based on the number of organisations in the activity areas. Looking at Figure 2.3, we can see that over half (102 of 200) of the workers in the sample work in education-related organisations, just under half (99) work in campaigning organisations, and 89 work in organisations performing research. This implies that big organisations, that can afford to invest resources in education, campaigning, and research (and also in advocacy and culture), do so. In other words, these areas of activity could be the ones that, since they can supplement other activities well, all organisations wish to have. These areas of activity can be used in order to support and advance organisational goals, and so education, campaigning, and research would find their place in the bigger organisations. This would be in addition to those organisations that focus on these areas of activity as their main goals. Another explanation for the notably high number of workers in organisations which focus on education is that educational goals simply require more workers – such as teachers, youth leaders and instructors.

Interestingly, I have found variation between the number of areas covered by each organisation: while some organisations focused on only one activity area, others have worked in relation to up to nine different areas of activity.¹⁵ Chapter 6 will explore the relationship between the number of activity areas, as well as the activity areas themselves, to other organisational characteristics as well as to working conditions. To examine the effect of activity area on working conditions I took the activity areas that had more than 50 workers, and those which had more than six organisations working on those areas. This has produced a list of 12 activity areas: education, campaign, research, advocacy, culture, interaction, information, social centre, women/LGBT, community, work, and media. In order to reflect the fact that most organisations focus on more than one activity area, and to further reduce the number of variables and increase the ability to use the activity areas in analysis, four realms of activity areas

¹⁵ The mean is 4.0 and the standard deviation is 2.1.

were created, as will be described in Chapter 6: Community, Services, Action, and Media.

Another aspect of the researched SMOs' organisational characteristics I shall present at this point is their size, as measured by the number of workers and of volunteers in them. It is noteworthy that the number of volunteers is based on data from only 135 organisations. This is because this information is based on data collection from the Israeli Bureau of Associations, as will be explained in Chapter 4, and these data are only available for some of the researched SMOs. The mean number of volunteers in a single organisation is 161, with a particularly large standard deviation - 266, which suggests that there are some organisations that reported having a very high number of volunteers. The mean number of workers is much lower than the number of volunteers: 21, and the standard deviation is 12.2. This reflects a certain amount of variation, although the distribution of number of workers does not seem to be as diverse as that of number of volunteers. Chapter 6 will explore the ratio between these two figures, but I can conclude at this point that the variation of size and type will be able to support the analysis I wish to undertake, and allow me to compare between different kinds of organisations, as well as to expand my ability to generalise by examining the theoretical concepts on a wide variety of SMOs.

This section has reviewed the organisational characteristics of peace SMOs in Israel. As no previous quantitative research on these topics exists, this empirically based report is valuable. Overall, the researched SMOs are relatively new – although they vary substantially so they reflect the field as a whole and not just new organisations. They display a variety of goals, but examining the amount of workers and organisations focusing on each work area reveals that they mainly focus on traditional social movement goals such as advocacy and campaigning, on providing welfare services such as education and assistance with work, and on producing reliable information in a context in which information is often lacking. These SMOs have more volunteers than workers – but the number of volunteers is subject to very large variation. The next section will conclude the chapter by reassessing the compatibility of the researched SMOs to the SMO definition. It will therefore allow me to re-evaluate my ability to generalise from research conducted on them.

2.6 Summary

The Israeli peace movement clearly puts forward all the features of a social movement as defined previously. The movement challenges national perceptions and tries to bring about policy changes in a critical realm; its members have a sense of common purpose even if they sometimes disagree on the specific “formula” for peace; solidarity among activists and groups is marked by organisational and social interaction; and it has sustained interactions and activities that go back several decades. Clearly, as most definitions of a social movement stress, it is organized around a conflict; in fact, it focuses on two conflicts: the Israeli-Arab conflict, and, no less important, the conflict with its rivals on the Israeli right (Hermann, 2009: 62).

The definition of a social movement I use in this dissertation (explained in greater detail in Chapter 3) is a dense informal network of individuals and organisations, which has a strong network identity and engages in conflictual action (Diani and Bison, 2004). SMOs are defined in this thesis as not-for-profit and non-governmental organisations that are part of a social movement. Israeli peace and anti-occupation organisations are compatible with this definition: they work for a common goal that criticises the existing situation and that wishes to create social change. Their goals range from specific aims, such as improving the conditions of political prisoners, to abstract ones, such as enhancing understanding between Jews and Palestinians. Both movement members and outsiders perceive all these goals as belonging under the same topical umbrella. Furthermore, these organisations are part of a network which includes organisations, groups, and individuals. This is a large and diverse network, comprised of overlapping sub-networks that vary in density and formality levels. Alongside goals and connections, these sub-networks share common cultures and concepts.

Israeli peace SMOs are therefore suitable for an analysis of employment in SMOs, and their diversity will be instrumental in this research, which will use distribution of variables across organisations to explore the relationships between these variables. However, the lack of support for peace organisations and activists, which can even become violent, should be remembered when generalizing. This is particularly true for Chapter 7, in which I will discuss the difficulties of moving from the SMO sector to a different sector, as these difficulties could be enhanced by the SMOs’ position in Israel.

In this chapter, I have shown the creation and consolidation of Israeli civil society and social movements, emphasising the Israeli peace movement that is the focus of this study. Following Hermann (2009), I have argued that the political process approach is contributory to understanding these developments: events such as the change in party structure and changes in economic circumstances help in understanding them. As mentioned before, this approach goes hand in hand with the resource mobilization approach and the explanations of professionalisation that stem from it. This is because these approaches look at SMOs as rational action, and explore the practical elements that enable and encourage them. The following chapter will discuss the theoretical premises of this thesis, which draw on these theories along with a Weberian approach as well as insights from labour market research.

Chapter 3: Literature and analytical framework

3.1 Introduction

The theoretical premises of this thesis are based on two distinct bodies of literature: The first is the work of scholars on civil society and social movements. More specifically, I use the political process and resource mobilisation theories, and the literature describing processes of professionalisation in SMOs. Here, I will use a Weberian approach to understanding professionalisation as bureaucratisation. The second body of literature deals with labour market inequalities and new forms and paths of careers. These two processes of change – in the structure of SMOs and in the structure of the labour market – pose a potential blurring of the rigid definitions of voluntarism and activism, as well as those of paid work.

To offer a coherent approach for the conceptualisation and analysis, I use Weber's (2009 [1915]) theorisation of social change, as well as the tools he offers to investigate social phenomena. Weber proposes investigating the 'social' through acknowledging its dual nature: analytical categories, such as ideal types, which are logically consistent and provide a perfect (and unrealistic) example of institutions, roles and concepts; and the messy, boundary-crossing, and often unclear social reality. Voluntarism on the one hand, and paid work on the other, are two ideal types (Weber, 1949 [1904]) which are extensively used in both academic and non-academic discourse (e.g. Glucksmann 1995; 2000; Gronlund, 2011; Jakimow, 2010; Minkoff, 1997; Taylor, 2004). Voluntarism is perceived as contributing without receiving a monetary return, while enjoying social and emotional benefits. Work, on the other hand, is seen as motivated by monetary gains, while having to pay a social and personal price (Taylor, 2004). I intend to conduct a critical analysis of the blurring of the boundaries between paid and voluntary work in the context of work in SMOs. I will also examine the way this blurring affects working conditions. I will thus argue for an outlook of work and workers which is flexible and inclusive, while at the same time being critical of the socio-economic interests which shape working conditions. Furthermore, to analyse professionalisation in SMOs, I find it useful to draw on Weber's conceptual work on the rise of instrumental rationality and the processes societies undergo in the modern

era. In Weber's writing, professions are "an important example of Western rationality" (Ritzer, 1975: 628). Weber offers a view which sees professionalism as part of a continuum – an approach which allows us to view professionalisation as an on-going process. Weber's approach also acknowledges the element of power in professionalisation – and positions the professional as more powerful than the mere 'practitioner' (Weber, 1946 [1919]). This view will allow me to critically examine the effects of professionalisation on the way employment relations are formed at various points on a scale of professionalisation in SMOs.

In the following section I will review existing definitions of civil society, social movements, and SMOs. This review will emphasise the ideological and idealist goals of these institutions on the one hand, and their need for practical resources to achieve their goals on the other. I will then describe the processes of change SMOs have undergone in recent decades. I will use Weber's concepts of rationality to claim that this transition could be seen as a transition from focusing on value-led rationality, to following mainly instrumental rationality. The fourth section of this chapter will outline the body of literature on careers and on the changing labour market. This discussion will highlight the flexibilisation of the labour market, and the critical writing on the precarity that has become an identifier of many flexible jobs. In the fifth section of this chapter, I will describe the existing writings on employment in civil society organisations. Employment in NGOs has been researched extensively, while employment in SMOs seems to have been neglected. Finally, I will examine the concept of motivations, which will lead my discussion of workers' evaluation and perception of the organisations and working conditions.

3.2 Civil Society and Social Movement Organisations

Civil society and social movements are often defined on two interwoven, but distinct, dimensions: their values and ideals on the one hand, and their practical functioning on the other. Values and ideals can relate to what the group, organisation or movement want to achieve, and also to the way it wants to exist. They can be broad - such as democracy, peace, or freedom of expression, or narrow – such as aiding a specific group of individuals in their wish to educate themselves on a specific issue or in their campaign against the demolition of a public park. The ways to achieve these goals

involve practical considerations that range from recruitment of members and supporters, to framing the goals in a way that could aid the group or organisation. These two dimensions are central in my understanding of SMOs, and are emphasised throughout my review of the related literature as well as when discussing empirical findings. In this section, I review the literature on civil society and social movements, emphasising the elements most relevant to my characterisation of social movements in general, and of SMOs in particular.

Before examining definitions of social movements, I begin with a review of literature relating to civil society. This serves two main goals. First, social movements are part of civil society. The values expressed in the ideas and ideals of civil society are relevant for social movements, particularly when examining issues such as inequalities in SMOs and where SMOs do not necessarily follow these values, as discussed in Chapter 6. Additionally, the literature related to employment in social movements is limited, and so to better understand and theorise employment in social movements, I shall use the literature reviewing employment in civil society as a whole. For these purposes, it is important to understand the ways in which social movements are part of civil society, as well as the elements that are specific to social movements. Defining civil society is not a straightforward task, as it has different definitions in scholarly tradition and takes various forms in different countries. Classical theoretical writings relating to civil society discuss it as a place, first and foremost, free: an arena in which people are free to create and join associations (Rudolph, 2000). This objective is not always achieved, but it stands as an ideal type of the normatively desired structure of civil society. At the base of current perceptions of civil society lies a "desire for greater civility in social relations" (Khilnani, 2001: 11).

Salamon and Anheier (1998) review key theories regarding the inception and activity of what they refer to as the "third sector". The third sector offers a more formal view of civil society organisations, that views them on a par with the public and private sectors. As I am focused on this side of civil society - organisations that employ workers - for the purposes of this thesis I see these two concepts as interchangeable. More specifically, Salamon and Anheier's (ibid) theoretical analysis is compatible with my view of civil society. The different theories presented in this analysis all

highlight two important aspects. First, civil society's role as a provider of help (including, but not only – services) to society in general, and in particular, though not necessarily, to marginalised groups within it. The second important aspect which comes out of Salamon and Anheier's (1998) review is the separateness of civil society from the market and state. The latter point, defining civil society not only through itself but also through not being either the state or the market – is a key point in civil society definitions (e.g. Walzer, 1992; White, 1994). It is central in my own work as I discuss the blurring of the boundaries between civil society and the other sectors expressed in the processes of privatisation of state services and professionalisation of SMOs.

Civil society therefore represents an aspiration of solidarity between individuals, based on a ground where all are equal, and it is to be realised through political self-governance (Hall and Trenmann, 2005). These groups of individuals work freely together to advance common political goals as well as to assist group members and others in society. Current writings highlight civil society's role as an intermediary arena between state, market, and household (Evers and Leville, 2004), again emphasising its existence as separated from other spheres, as part of its ideal type. An important debate related to civil society concerns its boundaries when it comes to "incivility" (Whitehead, 1997). This debate asks whether some groups should not be considered part of civil society due to their radical views, unwillingness to include everyone (such as neo-Nazi groups), or their reluctance to obey the law. These boundaries will not be clearly drawn in this thesis, as the researched SMOs were not bordering them. Although some of these SMOs do act radically or disobey the Israeli government, these cases are not, to my understanding, outwith the norms of civil society. In general, my definition of civil society will not include violence (though it would include some cases of vandalism). It will, however, include right-wing organisations. In Israel, these organisations do not perceive themselves as related to peace, though some do use the term "human rights". One important distinction relates to the part of civil society that is referred to as political society (e.g. Goertzel, 1976). This part relates to political claims made by different means, normally in relation to the government. It includes social movements, but could also include elements that are part of the political party system. Although some peace organisations in Israel are related to specific parties, this study does not include organisations that become parties

or see themselves as an integral part of them (such as the youth organisations of the Meretz and Hadash parties).

Liberal political writings such as the 'young' de Tocqueville (2011 [1835]) have made the claim that civil society is a crucial condition for the existence of a stable democracy. Current liberal debate sees civil society as an incentive, catalyst, and measure (Mercer, 2002) of democratisation in both western (Goldberg, 2001; Putnam, 1993) and non-western societies (Diamond, 1997). Civil society's role and definition is shaped in relation to its specific context. Jenei and Kuti (2008) discuss oppositional movements to regimes in Central and Eastern European countries during the Cold War and the Soviet Union as an important part of the European tradition. Diamond (1997) emphasises the role civil society has in stabilizing "third wave" democracies, which include Asian and East European countries. While both processes involve civil society, its role is very different in the different countries. When establishing democracy, civil society has a contentious role, operating as distinct from the state in order to enhance democracy in it. While consolidating democracy, NGOs (often International NGOs) act as a bridge between state and individuals, as well as a provider of welfare services. In Israel, civil society acts to fulfil these different roles (Gidron et al., 2003). Arguably, the existence of a peace movement in Israel is a crucial condition for the state's claim to be a democracy, as it inherently voices concerns relating to marginalised groups and pushes for democratic deliberations.

One salient debate over the role of civil society reflects on civil society's role within the "welfare mix". Here civil society, or rather the sector within it which is focused on providing welfare services, is seen as a hybrid, intermediary sphere that shares its goals and practices with the state, the market, and private households (Evers, 1995). Civil society organisations that start providing welfare services, or civil society organisations that are established for this goal, stand at the centre of this debate. They can be conceptualised as voluntary, independent initiatives by civil society organisations to improve welfare services. However, these changes can be better understood within the framework of privatisation, whereby the welfare state revises its role to provide minimal services to its citizens (Harvey, 2007). In other words, as states go through processes of privatisation, they use civil society organisations in order to

fund specific welfare services (e.g. Marwell, 2004). This is a good example of civil society organisations which do not adhere to their “ideal type”, but are still defined both by themselves and by the state that funds them as civil society organisations. The extent to which they can control their modes of operation and goals varies between organisations and between countries.

Though the debate on the definition and function of civil society is wide and multi-faceted, focus on civil society’s processes of positioning itself vis-à-vis the state and the market is of particular relevance for the current study. This on-going process of positioning in relation to the state and market is evident in the SMOs examined in this research. In Israel, this form of privatisation worsens working conditions of the service providers as they move from state-employment to civil society employment, as explained in Chapter 2. Peace and anti-occupation organisations in Israel hold a complex set of relations with the state of Israel, the Palestinian authority, and other countries and organisations such as the UN and the EU. For this reason, they are commonly accused of representing foreign interests rather than those of Israel. For example, some of the more consensual organisations are accused of ‘normalizing’ the occupation by creating actions that portray Israelis and Palestinians as equals who only need to meet and get to know each other. These organisations are criticised by some activists as collaborating with the Israeli state. On the other hand, peace and anti-occupation organisations are resented by large segments of the Israeli society, which sees them as cooperating with foreign countries or institutions against the Israeli state (Steinberg, 2011). These acts of positioning with and against the state demonstrate the complexity of the boundary setting around civil society. This complexity is also present in the definition of social movements. As such, the different definitions of social movements offered in the literature are presented next, followed by the definition I use in this thesis.

The literature does not contain a unanimously accepted definition of social movements (Crossley, 2002). Different definitions emphasise different aspects of collective action as criteria for being a social movement: First, in much the same way as civil society as a whole, social movements are often defined as an element within the public sphere. Indeed, in both cases the idea of being truly ‘public’ and open to all, serves more as a

normative ideal than as a description of reality (ibid). Second, social movements are seen as a form of collective action, which is reflected in their definition as networks of individuals and organisations that work for a common cause. The density of this network can be seen as a condition for its definition as a movement (Blumer, 1971). Third, social movements are typically described as having low levels of formality in the relations between the individuals and organisations that comprise them (Della Porta and Diani, 2006). Finally, the aims of social movements should, by some definitions, include a range of aspirations for social change, which are often seen by the literature as conflictual and defying elites, although this does not describe all SMOs (Tarrow, 1998). Using their position outside the state and the market, social movements' activities are often seen as extra institutional – attempting to affect the decisions made within an institution from the outside.

My definition of social movements relies mainly on Diani and Bison (2004), who offer a division of collective action according to density of informal network, network identity versus organisational identity, and conflictual versus consensual action. They state that a social movement is defined as a dense informal network of individuals and organisations, which has a strong network identity and engages in conflictual action. In the Israeli context, the level of conflictuality associated with the action is inherently related to the level of conflictuality associated with the action's goal. The organisations I will look at display a range of goals – from the consensual goal of bringing Jews and Arabs together around non-political issues, to conflictual goals such as the promotion of a two-state solution to the Palestinian-Israeli-conflict. However, all these goals are nested under the umbrella of activity for peace, and stem from an aim of social change towards this peace – even if it may be defined differently by the different organisations.

My definition of SMOs relies, to great extent, on my definition of social movements. An SMO will therefore be any organisation belonging to a social movement. However, Following Della-Porta and Diani (1999) I see the social movement and the social movement organisation as distinct and analyse organisational processes using a different set of tools than the tools that could be used to analyse a social movement. The transition, or difference, between a group and an organisation can be viewed as a process, with no single point in which a group becomes an organisation. Though the

boundaries between a group of activists and an organisation can be blurred, the SMOs in this project have a clear definition, which is based on them employing at least one worker. Although the definition I use for social movements emphasises networks and informality, my approach to exploring SMOs is based on perceptions of SMOs as rational, and affected by practical considerations. Following Everett (1992: 957), I look at “the population of SMOs that exists at a given time” as the SMO sector.

Though overlapping in certain areas, social movement theory has different characteristics, interests and tradition from civil society theory. Crossley (2002) describes social movement theory as being derived from two different sources. The first route evolved from early theories of collective behaviour, such as Le Bon's (1897) description of an unconscious crowd that differs from the rationality of the individual, to resource mobilisation and political process theories, which aim to provide rational, systematic explanations for social movements. These theories debate the factors that enable and create social movements. They see social movements as rational entities (Zald, 1980), which aim to promote social change (Edwards and McCarthy, 2007), and analyse the effects of social and political structure on social movements (Kriesi, 2007). The resource mobilisation theory offers an analysis of social movements that is based on the various resources a movement requires, and on the different ways in which these resources can be obtained and used (McCarthy, Zald, 1977). It stresses that dissent alone is not enough for a movement to act effectively towards achieving its goals, and that activists are not necessarily deviants acting in irrational ways when they choose to join a social movement. This theory places special emphasis on physical and monetary resources and on considerations related to recruiting members. It also examines the organisational aspects of social movements as a crucial element in achieving the movement's goals (ibid). Therefore, it is relevant for the analysis of employment relationships in SMOs.

The political process or political opportunity theory, despite sharing the basic premises of rationality with the resource mobilisation theory, focuses on the opportunities presented by the political context in which social movements arise (Meyer, and Minkoff, 2004). This context includes the reasons of discontent that prompt the creation or strengthening of social movements, as well as the political structures that

enable, support, or limit the development of social movements (ibid). As described in Chapter 2, this rational view of the emergence of social movements as enabled by a specific political and historic structure proves to be useful in understanding the emergence of peace and anti-occupation organisations in Israel (Hermann, 1996). The same rational view, as reflected in the resource mobilisation theory, serves as the basis for understanding the professionalisation process SMOs undergo, which is described in the following section of this chapter. In its emphasis on organisational rationality, it works well with Weber's view of professionalisation as bureaucratisation (Ritzer, 1975).

The second route Crossley (2002) identifies, is the development of new social movement theory, which derives from Marxist theory. This theory aims at conceptualizing the social movements which started in the mid-1960s, and expands their goals beyond state-based specific demands, into areas of lifestyle and identity (Touraine, 1981). The framing perspective uses these insights from new social movement theory and attempts to use them as part of the former, 'American' route. The concept of framing focuses on social movements as creators of meaning (Gamson, 2007; Snow, 2007; Williams, 2007). While resource mobilisation theory and social process theory analyse social movements' inception and mobilisation in rationalist terms, new social movement theory takes into account culture and identity as crucial elements in the understanding of social movements (e.g. Melucci, 1985). This focus on identity will be used when discussing the different social groups within Israeli peace SMOs, specifically groups based on gender and nationality.

These views of social movements and the concepts that are used to conceptualise them highlight the two significant elements that exist in social movements: the practical, rational and organisational element on the one hand, and the ideological element on the other. Both types of theory will be used, although due to its relevance to professionalisation processes in particular and to SMOs in general, the resource mobilisation theory from the first strand will be more prominent. However, ideological motivations and workers' identity are also an important part of my analysis. Finally, the tension between the rational view and the ideological one accompanies the discussion of SMO workers, their career paths, and their employment. To further

understand SMOs and work in them, the following section will discuss the transformations civil society and social movement organisations have undergone in the last few decades.

3.3 Professionalisation in SMOs

In recent decades, civil society in general and SMOs in particular have gone through significant transformations (Reimann, 2006). In the West, civil society organisations and SMOs expanded into areas that were, in previous decades, the responsibility of the welfare state (Harvey, 2007). Civil society organisations providing welfare services and other forms of privatisation in civil society, which were described in the previous section, also exist among SMOs. Alvarez (1999), for example, argues that new roles are given to advocating feminist organisations by the state and governmental organisations in Latin America: as experts, intermediaries, and sub-contractors. This frame of analysis enables me to view the acceptance of welfare roles by civil society organisations and particularly by SMOs as demanding a certain level of expertise and of stability that did not fully exist in the organisations before. These demands lead, in turn, to the professionalisation of civil society organisations and of SMOs. These new roles are changing not only the relations between civil society and the state, but also relations between civil society and the market, as the need to provide services and to gain legitimacy leads to civil society organisations, including SMOs, adopting market values and methods (Wirgau, Farley and Jensen, 2010; Lacerda and Vieira, 2011). These processes may also be driven by a desire to advocate or provide aid more effectively – as a set of tools aimed at quality improvement (Roth, 2012: 1460). The meeting point between social and economic goals, methods and values is often referred to as social economy. This ranges from SMOs adopting market methods in a limited scale, to organisations with a 'double bottom line' which is both economic and social, to forms of corporate responsibility (Shamir, 2004).

These changes are reflected in NGOs' adoption of values such as accountability (Atack, 1999), transparency (Brown and Moore, 2001; Najam, 1996), standardisation (Brown and Korten, 1989; Townsend, 1999), and financial sustainability (Brocklesby and Fisher, 2003; Lewis, 1998). These values can be conceptualised as 'market

values,¹⁶ which expand their prominence in non-market organisations (Ong, 2006). Funding bodies and financial support from members are an important part of this process. Formalised, professional activities create a growing demand for funding, while the growing supply of funding available for civil society organisations enables and encourages greater formalisation and professionalisation (Beckfield, 2003; Everett, 1992). Organisational structure, such as having volunteers versus employing workers, is evaluated by funding bodies as part of their decision-making process on the provision of funding (Brown and Korten, 1989). The effect of funding bodies on civil society organisations has been debated by the literature (e.g. Edwards and Hulme, 1996; Fowler, 2000; Henderson, 2003). Chaves et al. (2004) have not found a relationship between state funding and the ability of organisations to be political and conflictual in their study of non-profit organisations. Despite this finding, I believe it is possible that funding has an effect on the SMO sector as a whole, rather than only on the SMOs that receive it. Funding by members and supporters is another important element in SMO funding, and one that has substantial effects on organizational activity and structure (Jordan and Maloney, 1997). On the one hand, the SMOs' efforts to attract funding costs a large proportion of their budget (ibid: 21). On the other hand, those supporters, much like funding bodies, want to know that their money is well spent. Funding bodies ensure this by paying for specific projects rather than for the general activity of an organization, and supporters receive various assurances of how their money is spent, such as periodical letters reviewing the organisation's achievements and spending. Specific projects, funded for a fixed amount of time, require temporary staff. In addition, the demand to provide clear break-down of SMO spending in terms of direct contribution to specific causes often means money spent on good working conditions can be viewed as over-spending. This reliance on funding therefore affects both the level of professionalization and the working conditions in SMOs.

As a specific type of civil society organisation, SMOs have also changed in the past decades -from volunteer-led, democratic organisations, to competitive organisations

¹⁶ These describe an ideal market based on liberal thought, which includes values such as transparency and accountability as part of the claim for full information for all sides taking part in a transaction – rather than an existing market.

(Zald and McCarthy, 1980) led by paid professionals that invest time, effort and budget into achieving funds (Jordan and Maloney, 1997). Maloney and Grant (1997:108) describe a process in which "campaigning organisations [...] have 'matured' into corporate entities involved in a fight for market share." Zald and Ash (1966) present a Weberian explanation for the professionalisation process in which organisations move from being dependent on a charismatic leadership to a growing dependence of bureaucratic mechanisms. They discuss what they refer to as the Weber-Michels model, and particularly the perception of professionalization, bureaucratisation, and particularly for them – the oligarchisation process in SMOs. Zald and Ash (ibid) focus on SMOs' leadership and present professionalization as a process of accumulating powers in the hands of leaders. Considering the legal and practical divide between the managing committee and the SMO managers in practice (those who hold positions such as Chief Executive), I think this model is indeed less relevant for my analysis of SMOs. However, describing the professionalisation in SMOs as a transition from a value led rationality to instrumental rationality is helpful in this analysis, as it emphasises the instrumentality that becomes an inseparable part of the professionalised SMO. This transformation is also reflected in the relationships between SMOs in the SMO sector – they develop relations of both competition and cooperation (Minkoff, 1994). In turn, this competition acts as an enhancer of the organisation's levels of specialisation (Soule and King, 2008).

Zald and Ash (1996) see SMOs as an integral part of social movements. Nevertheless, it is important to not take the existence of SMOs within a social movement for granted. Rather, SMOs can be seen as the result of a formalisation process. While social movements can be comprised of both individuals and organisations, having SMOs is not a pre-condition for the existence of a social movement. Moreover, the amount of organisations and their level of institutionalisation can vary between different movements, and more importantly – in the same movement in different points in time. In other words, SMOs take part in social movements, but the mere formation of a formal, stable organisation could also be seen as diminishing the informality of a social movement (Diani and Bison, 2004). This can happen when an informal group becomes a formalised SMO, and also when new SMOs emerge and affect the communication and cooperation between individuals and organisations in the movement in general.

Some social movements' definitions emphasise informality and contention (Della Porta and Diani, 2006). This view argues that as social movements reach stagnation, a demobilisation process occurs: activists lose their initial enthusiasm and the prices paid for being an activist become too high to sustain (Offe, 1990). Tilly and Tarrow (2007) identify different routes of demobilisation through which a social movement can find its end. One of these routes is forming organisations, mostly in an attempt to consolidate the activity and to stabilise it. This is done with the aim to lower the costs of participating in the movement and adding employment to what the movement can offer its activists. Though Tilly and Tarrow (ibid) see organisation and group structure as an important part of social movements, they argue that these processes of institutionalisation could reflect activists' fatigue and boredom, as they are built in reaction to discontent with the informal action that characterises social movements.

The professionalisation process of social movements could be seen as having two phases. First, the creation of SMOs, and second, the professionalisation of these SMOs. Both these processes do not happen over-night, and can be prolonged, non-linear, and happen in different ways and at a different pace even within the same movement. I have discussed the literature regarding the professionalisation embodied in the creation of SMOs, and will now turn to the process which is the key to this dissertation – the process by which an existing SMO becomes more and more professionalised. However, the two phases of professionalisation remain related to each other, as the professionalisation of specific organisations can encourage the creation of other SMOs, and vice-versa. Both phases of the professionalisation process can be viewed as institutionalisation.

Tilly and Tarrow (2007) assert that institutionalisation contains two intertwined processes: (1) formalisation of relations, roles and methods and the creation of a more hierarchical organisational structure; and (2) the loss of conflictuality and radicalism for more consensual action. In this thesis, I will not judge the level of conflictuality of the different SMOs. This is because the mere existence of an organisation that supports peace and/or opposes the occupation is conflictual in contemporary Israel. Additionally, different aspects such as the identity of workers and members, a geographical location, and the target population could have an effect on the perceived

level of conflictuality of an organisation, regardless of its actions. I therefore embrace the first part of Tilly and Tarrow's (ibid) definition of institutionalisation, and include measures of the division of labour within the organisation and the level of hierarchy in its structure. These measures are used together with other measures of professionalisation and formalisation. Chapter 6 presents an empirical examination of this concept, leading to the creation of a single professionalisation scale. It considers the theoretical aspects presented by Tilly and Tarrow, as well as the Weberian view presented earlier in this section. These theoretical aspects of professionalisation are examined in conjunction with empirical findings, to find a group of variables that are theoretically representative of professionalisation, while being empirically related to a single underlying factor – professionalisation.

The professionalisation process has consequences for the activists (Lie and Baines, 2007). To discuss these consequences, I begin by unpacking the meaning of being a social movement activist. Activism is traditionally identified with voluntarism. Voluntarism is a contested value, used by NGOs (Jakimow, 2010) and volunteers (Gronlund, 2011) in various ways. It can be described as an activity for a social cause rather than for material profit. Volunteering is related to high levels of social capital, which is the existence of social ties, or relationships, with a large number of individuals (Minkoff, 1997). Social capital affects recruitment since it is needed for the volunteers to know of and be accepted into a group, let alone to form a new group and mobilise others. Social capital is also enhanced by connections formed while volunteering, both at the individual level (ibid), and at the larger social or national level (Putnam, 1995). And so, volunteering is not equally distributed - the odds of volunteering are affected by occupational group (Webb and Abzug, 2008), gender (Marshall and Taniguchi, 2012), and ethnic group (Sundeen, Garcia and Raskoff, 2008). Furthermore, personal biography affects the activity in SMOs, their creation, and leadership (Hart, 2009). Activity in social movements, especially in established organisations, has a substantial effect on the future social behaviour and employment of activists (McAdam, 1989; McAdam, 1992; Sherkat and Blocker, 1997).

As organisations are professionalised, the changes in roles and methods of organisations are followed by a transition – from volunteers to workers (Maloney and

Grant, 1997). Writing which focuses specifically on employment in SMOs has been limited so far. Staggenborg (1988) explores the roles of activists in SMOs that underwent professionalisation, and suggests a scheme of specific functions, which are highly differentiated between the professional and non-professional activists. She argues that the role of professional activists is not to initiate movements, but rather to consolidate the existing organisations and tactics, and to promote cooperation between organisations. Although Staggenborg's research takes into account elements of employment in SMOs, its view of working conditions is limited to the mere existence of payment. Section 3.5 reviews the literature discussing employment in the third sector, which includes SMOs but usually without separating them from other organisations. In the third sector, Haley-Lock and Kruzich (2007) have found that the organisational structure has a strong effect on differences in working conditions, as more professionalised organisations provide better working conditions. However, the unique traits of employment in SMOs seem to have been neglected. As SMOs present a historical development of professionalisation in the last decades, and thus reflect current processes, they merit research dedicated to their role as employers. Furthermore, SMOs wave a political flag and make normative claims, which makes the investigation of working conditions in them interesting. This research, therefore, studies the social movement sector as part of the labour market, focusing on working conditions and employment relations. The next section will look at the transitions the labour market has gone through in the past half a century – transitions that affect working conditions, creating precarious forms of employment and making them more wide-spread.

3.4 Labour Market Developments and Structure

In his book *The Precariat: The New Dangerous Class*, Guy Standing (2011) presents the precariat – which “combines an adjective ‘precarious’ and a related noun ‘proletariat’”. This construct offers an interesting perspective on the changes the labour market has gone through since the Second World War, and to the working conditions that arose as a result of these changes. The current conditions are characterised as a loss of the securities that were part of the industrial citizenship prevalent in the post-WWII labour market. It is important to note that these securities,

which will be described later in this section, are not evenly distributed across the labour market. This section reviews the changes in the labour market in recent decades and the working conditions resulting from them, followed by a discussion of the gender and national gaps in the Israeli labour market.

In the second half of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st, labour markets throughout the world have changed significantly. Processes of globalisation and neo-liberalisation led by international bodies such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), have led to a more elastic market, entailing vast geographic relocations of both businesses and employees (Castles and Miller, 2009). It is important to note that processes of professionalisation, and the capitalist structure of the international labour market, have already been described by classical authors such as Wallerstein (1974) and Marx (1907). Nonetheless, the way in which these processes are shaping current labour markets is an important part of the understanding of the flexibilisation of the labour market in the last decades. Concomitant with these processes and as a result of them, production and supply of goods and services have increased profitability related to flexible employment, both nationally and internationally (Moen, 2005; Tilly, 1999). Furthermore, the decline of the welfare state and privatisation processes have changed the structure of the labour market, expanding the private sector in opposition to the public sector and thus affecting modes and terms of employment (DiPrete, 1997; Powell and Hendricks, 2009).

The above mentioned changes are reflected in the scholarly debate that addresses the concept of career (Haller et al. 1985; Neumark et al., 1999; Sullivan and Baruch, 2009). The traditional concept referred to a linear and stable experience deriving from a bi-polar relationship between employee and one or two organisations (see Super, 1975). Contradictory to the traditional concept of careers, a new view has emerged in the last four decades, which presents a boundary-less, protean career in which an employee may change both workplace and occupation numerous times in a lifetime (see Arthur and Rousseau, 1996; Arthur et al., 2005; Hall, 2004). The extent to which this new view represents a significant shift is the subject of empirical examination and is debated in the literature. Some scholars argue that the labour market has become increasingly flexible, and others claim that the proportions of flexible positions have

not changed during this time (Rodrigues and Guest, 2010). Regardless of the actual change (or lack thereof) in the proportion of flexible positions in the labour market, it is an important phenomenon and is meaningful to workers' lives.

There is debate as to the consequences of these changes in labour market and career perception. Enabling employers to hire and fire employees quickly, easily, and cheaply may be valued by employers for allowing increased flexibility and efficiency. Some workers may also value the flexibility given by part-time jobs (Hakim, 2000). Furthermore, a protean and dynamic career is said to allow an employee to follow intrinsic rewards, such as interest in a profession, rather than being dependent upon a specific organisation for mobility within the labour market (Arthur and Rousseau, 1996). On the other hand, rather than representing an outcome of free choice, continual changes of workplace, accompanied by the increasing likelihood of part-time work and periods of unemployment, can be viewed as reflecting low job security forced upon employees. Furthermore, frequent changes of workplace, with or without periods of unemployment, could have a negative effect on what workers can save towards their retirement, as pensions and other financial tools aimed at saving for retirement often depend on long-term investment. From this perspective, it is argued that changes in the labour market have a strong, negative effect on vulnerable social groups and thereby exacerbate disparities among them (Blank, 1998; Kellberg, 2009, 2011).

Standing (2011) criticises this flexibility, asserting that it is a mechanism for “transferring risks and insecurity onto workers and their families”. Another way to see this flexibility is as insecurity, or rather as a set of insecurities that can be independent from each other as well as correlated. Standing (ibid) lists seven securities the precariat has lost: (1) *Labour market security* refers to the existence of work opportunities. It exists mainly in the macro level, and thus has an impact on SMO workers, as it does on any other worker; (2) *Employment security* is the possibility to retain employment and not be dismissed arbitrarily. In Chapter 5, section 4, I compare the SMO workers' tenure to that of workers in the Israeli labour market, as a way to assess SMO workers' employment security; (3) *Job security* is the ability to keep a specific role or profession in the labour market, to develop and maintain skills, and to have opportunities for promotion within and between workplaces. This security could be lacking for those

SMO workers who define their profession only in relation to the SMO, for instance not as lawyers or teachers, but as SMO coordinators; (4) *Work security* is being safe and protected at work. While SMO work is typically not physically dangerous, safety issues can arise from long and late working hours. To address this aspect, Chapter 5, Section 4, examines both the general amount of hours and the over-time SMO workers work; (5) *Skill reproduction security* is the opportunity for training and gaining skills. Workers' level of education, their assessment of their own skills and their training are all examined in Chapter 5, Section 2.1 and in Chapter 7, Section 2; (6) *Income security* is an income which is both sufficient and stable. Both stability and the level of payment for SMO workers are discussed in detail in Chapter 5, Section 4; (7) *Representation security* is the existence of workers unions as well as the legal rights allowing workers to protect themselves. Both the proportion of unionization and the effect it has on working conditions are explored in Chapter 6, Section 3.

SMO workers in Israel do not, in general, belong to the precariat. Relative to many groups of marginalised workers, they do have labour market opportunities and enjoy high levels of skills and legal protection. However, I do find this framework useful in thinking about the flexibility and insecurity which characterise employment in SMOs. It remains useful even if these insecurities are due to workers' willingness to accept lesser conditions for their values, to organisational cultures, or to the structure of funding which is often temporary and project-related. This research thus explores mechanisms such as part-time work, over time, and tenure, among SMO workers, and examines their relations with organisational and personal characteristics.

One of the pillars of today's labour market, in Israel and elsewhere, is the uneven distribution of working conditions between different racial and national groups, as well as between men and women. Two such disparities in the Israeli labour market are examined in this thesis: Gender gaps, and gaps between Palestinians and Jews. After WWII, and especially since the 1960s, women's participation in the paid labour market in western societies grew significantly (Hakim, 2000). Since the 1980s, processes of implicit and explicit deregulation and the globalisation of production have led to a larger participation of women in the paid labour market in developing countries (Standing, 2002). These transformations in both the form of the labour market and

women's place in society can be interpreted as normatively positive. From this perspective, Virginia Woolf's (1989 [1929]) assertion that in order to be free, women should have their own money, not their husband's, father's or brother's, is in many ways realised. However, this transformation could also be seen in a more critical way, which points to the fact that women's appeal as workers lies to a large extent in their lack of protection from exploitation. This large picture of a decline of protection of women's rights can take the form of longer hours or night work, as well as of unequal working conditions for men and women (Standing, 2002).

As with any case of a weaker group of workers that enters the labour market (Bonacich, 1972), the decline of protection of rights and of work security for women affected the working conditions of men as well. Hatton (2011) shows that advertising themselves as employment agencies mainly hiring women, served as an entry point to the labour market for the temporary employment industry in the United States. Once this was achieved, the industry applied its exploitative employment techniques to both men and women. As Chapter 5 shows, the proportion of women in the Israeli peace and anti-occupation SMOs is higher than their proportion in the Israeli labour market. Chapter 5 also examines the working conditions of women in these SMOs, and shows that the gender gap existing in the Israeli labour market is maintained in them. Chapter 6 further explores this issue, looking at the proportion of women workers at the organisational level (in addition to the individual effect), and the effect it has on working conditions.

As discussed in Chapter 2, Israeli society is deeply divided, being comprised of two main national groups: Jews and Palestinians. Between these two groups one can find disparities in many life domains. An important arena in which these disparities can be seen is the labour market. Previous studies have already shown that Palestinians who are Israeli citizens are disadvantaged on both measures of income and rates of unemployment (e.g. Habersfeld and Cohen, 2006; Kimhi, 2010; Kraus and Hodge, 1990; Sa'di and Lewin-Epstein, 2001; Semyonov and Cohen, 1990). In Chapter 6, I show that this situation is different in the researched SMOs: Palestinians are over-represented in SMOs compared to their relative part of the Israeli society as well as of the Israeli labour market, and they receive higher payments than Jews. As with the

case of gender gaps, the proportion of Palestinians in an organisation is also explored in Chapter 6.

Although the literature researching the labour market is important and relevant for this research, a more specific look at previous research on workers in SMOs would be useful as a context, and for identifying the main issues which need to be addressed in the data collection and analysis. Unfortunately, the issue of employment and working conditions in SMOs has not generated a body of literature, and so I will turn to the closest group of workers – those in the third sector. The next section reviews the literature discussing employment in the third sector. The research done on this topic is not specifically focused on SMOs, but it does show the main issues existing in employment in voluntary organisations, and suggests a way to conceptualise the motivations of SMO workers.

3.5 Work in Civil Society Organisations

The third sector has grown significantly in the past few decades in Israel and other western societies. It has also become an employer of a consistently growing number of workers (Almond and Kendall, 2000; Anheier, 1991; Katz, Gidron and Limor, 2009; Salamon et al., 1999; Salamon, Sokolowski and Geller, 2012). Previous studies have explored employment in civil society and third sector organisations. They have found that workers in the voluntary sector are paid less than workers in other sectors, and have lower work security. They have also found that employment in the third sector is characterised by inequality between different groups of workers. This section begins by reviewing the literature discussing employment in civil society organisations. This is followed by a presentation of findings from research that has been done on the third sector in Israel.

Civil society organisations' workers have been found to have a higher level of education than workers in other sectors (Almond and Kendall, 2000; NCVO, 2013). However, they have a higher chance of receiving low payment compared to other workers (Almond and Kendall, 2000). These findings have been criticised, with critique claiming the difference is only, or mainly, due to the specific occupations and occupational areas which are prevalent in civil society organisations, such as health

care, social care, and education (Kim and Lee, 2007 ; Salamon and Sokolowski, 2006; Leete, 2001; Mocan and Takin, 2001). However, other research has found salaries are lower in the third sector even when looking at specific occupations (Weisbrod, 1983; Preston, 1989). It is also important to remember that salaries for different occupations are socially constructed, and that the social composition within an occupation can change the rewards workers receive. Therefore, it could be that because some occupations are a large part of civil society, the working conditions in them are less lucrative. This is a different explanation than that occupations with lesser working conditions happen to be part of civil society, or that some elements related to these occupations, such as a greater emphasis on care, is making them more likely to be part of civil society and also to have lesser working conditions. It is likely that all three of these directions of causality contribute to constructing this correlation. Further research, which is beyond the scope of this thesis, would be required to determine these causal relations.

Differences between employment in the third sector and in other sectors go beyond payment levels. Third sector organisations employ more part-time workers than other sectors, and have higher levels of temporary contracts (NCVO, 2013; Lanfranchi and Narcy, 2006; Almond and Kendall, 2000; Mirvis and Hackett, 1983). Workers in civil society organisations enjoy fewer health and social benefits (Salamon and Geller, 2006; Mirvi and Hackett, 1983), even when these benefits are a precise representation of the organisations' values (Emanuele and Higgins, 2000). In addition to differences in working conditions between the third sector and other sectors, there are inequalities within the third sector. Women are over-represented in the civil society organisations' labour market (Almond and Kendall, 2000; Anheier, 1991; Preston, 1990; Mirvis and Hackett, 1983). However, much like in other sectors, they are more likely than men to receive low payment for their work (Almond and Kendall, 2000). In addition to being paid less, women have a lower chance of holding managerial positions (Gilberman, 2000; Anheier, 1991; Preston, 1990; Mirvis and Hackett, 1983).

As outlined in Chapter 2, the third sector in Israel has been rapidly growing (Katz, Gidron and Limor, 2009). Katz and Yogev-Keren (2013) have used 2009 data from the Israeli Centre for Third-Sector Research database, which included data on over

550,000 positions in the Israeli third sector. They found that 91% of the Israeli third sector workers are Jewish, and 68% of them are women. This finding, and the parallel data found in my own survey, is discussed in Chapter 5. Over 80% of the workers are between the ages of 15 and 54. About two thirds of the workers have a tenure of less than two years, which signifies large instability. The number of workers is lower in the summer – between July and October. Since the Jewish High Holidays occur in September, most after-school activities take place between October and July, which would fit this pattern. The mean monthly salary (not for a full-time job but for the existing one) was 4,230 NIS (roughly equal an annual income of £8460). The mean salary for men was 5,410 NIS and for women – 3,667 NIS. In the same year, the mean salary in the Israeli labour market was 7,974 NIS (£15,948) (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2015). Previous research, conducted by Gabai and Brik (2002), found that salaries in the third sector were 20% lower than in other sectors. However, when looking at the top 10% and the top 1% of earners in each sector, these differences almost disappear (to 1.2% in the top 1% of earners). This points to a high level of inequality within the third sector – higher than the level exhibited in the private sector (Gabai and Brik, 2002).

These data reflect civil society organisations. Though it is unclear to what extent they are relevant for SMOs, they are useful in highlighting the important issues in working conditions within the civil society – level of payment and other benefits, part-time and temporary jobs, and inequalities between groups of workers. A key element of the conceptualisation of work in the voluntary sector is the boundary work between work and volunteering, and between workers and volunteers. The following section reviews the literature on work motivations, placing particular focus on these boundaries.

3.6 Defining Work and Work-Related Motivations

Paid work is commonly seen as work done mainly for a financial payment, while volunteering is seen as work done mainly to contribute to a certain cause (e.g. Mitchell, 2006). Paid work is traditionally associated with tasks that are tiring or unpleasant (Pahl, 1984: 19), and hence deserve payment, while volunteering is associated with greater choice, since the individual does not have to volunteer. This perception of voluntary work implies it offers other incentives, such as social engagement or an

ideological cause. This section reviews the criticisms on this dichotomous view of work and leisure, and argues for caution in the use of new definitions, as they could encourage the use of blurred lines in the definition of work for exploiting employees. This is followed by a review of the different aspects of workers' motivations through the concepts of intrinsic and extrinsic motivations.

The separation of paid labour from other forms of labour can be traced to the industrial revolution (Ashton, 1948), and to its spatial as well as gendered division of labour. The differentiation between paid labour and volunteering serves to promote aspirations towards a normatively better economic system, which will be manifested in (among other factors) a different balance between the components of this equation. A better quality of life for some people could thus be achieved, according to this view, by spending fewer hours working and more hours volunteering.¹⁷ Feminist scholars such as Oakley (1974) presented the claim that women's labour, which produces significant outcomes and demands much effort, is under-estimated due to patriarchal perceptions in society. These perceptions follow the basic patriarchal separation that places women in the house and men in the public domain, and see the same activity as work when it is done for payment, and as household duty when it is done in the house. Pahl (1984: 31) opens the introduction to his book *Divisions of Labour* by stating: "This is a book about work. It is not simply about employment, though this is often what people mean when they talk about work." These opening lines lead to a deliberation on the meaning of labour, and specifically about what is socially recognised as labour – and what is not.

Taylor (2004) offers a criticism of this dichotomous perception of work and leisure. Following Glucksmann (1995; 2000), she claims that work does not necessarily mean payment, and vice versa. She suggests a framework which places equal weight on six domains of work: Formal/public paid work, formal/public unpaid work, informal/public paid and unpaid work, and informal/private paid and unpaid work. While this theoretical framework can be instrumental in following and understanding individuals' work situations and histories, it lacks a critical perspective. Although

¹⁷ Catherine Gibson, in a lecture given at the "designing and transforming capitalism" conference, February 9-10, 2012, Aarhus.

Taylor acknowledges the social structure within which these work positions are negotiated, this framework has the potential to equate exploitative employment with employment that is not exploitative. In other words, although the workers and the social system are both present in Taylor's account, the employers, and particularly their responsibility for working conditions, do not receive appropriate attention. Defining unpaid work as equal to paid work could imply that it should be rewarded in the same way, much like the feminist-Marxist claim to reward women's work in the house. However, to do so, a further step is required – one that directs attention to the employers themselves. In this thesis, a dual perspective looking at both the workers and the employers is used, to directly address this question of responsibility.

Following the theoretical view of work in the voluntary sector as placed in the middle, between work and volunteering, or between work and unpaid work, provides a framework for analysing workers' motivations. From the workers' point of view, there could be several reasons for working in SMOs. The literature suggests two types of motivation: intrinsic motivation, which comes from the individual's desire to do well and from their belief in the values of the work they perform; and extrinsic motivation, which depends on external incentives, such as social status and monetary payment. In this research I will differentiate between **social-ideological motivations**, which can be seen as intrinsic and **material-financial motivations**, which are extrinsic (De Cooman et al, 2011). The first type of motivation is social and/or ideological – a desire to contribute to social change, and a belief in the organisation's significance and impact – together with the commitment to the organisation and fellow workers and volunteers. Powered by such motivations, workers could be willing to volunteer in addition to their paid work in an SMO. These motivations emphasise the blurred boundary between workers and volunteers in the case of SMO workers, as it is very difficult to determine when the work ends and the volunteering begins. It is noteworthy that this combination of work and volunteering could be manifested through the different hours in which either is done – but also in the willingness to receive lower payment to support the organisation. The second type of motivation is material or financial (Hustinx, 2007). As shown in the previous section, working in the voluntary sector means being paid less than working in a for-profit organisation. However, there are relevant financial motivations to work for an SMO – first and foremost, the

aspiration to use the current job as a gateway to a future job. This fits with the contemporary view of new careers as protean and in continuous flux (Sullivan and Baruch, 2009; Arthur et al., 2005; Hall, 2004), as a job does not stand on its own, but is part of a series of different positions in a worker's lifetime.

Ben-Ner, Ren, and Paulson (2010) find less use of financial incentives in non-governmental organisations and in local government organisations compared to for-profit organisations in the US. They explain these findings through the intrinsic-motivation perspective. This perspective sees workers in the voluntary sector as motivated mainly by intrinsic motivations and by a connection to the organisations, compared to workers in the for-profit sector, who are motivated more by external regulations and benefits (De Cooman et.al, 2011). Reflecting the emphasis on intrinsic motivations, workers in Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) have been found to have higher levels of job satisfaction, despite having worse working conditions (Donegani et al., 2012).

As SMOs become employers, both motivations could play an important role in shaping mechanisms of employment, through enabling NGOs to maintain a component of volunteer work alongside paid employment. Following the data found in this research and in previous studies as outlined in the previous section, this thesis places a particular focus on several prominent aspects of employment in SMOs: (1) *Temporality* - short-term contracts or people leaving a job after a short while. As seen in Section 4, it is the key phenomenon in the analysis suggested by the literature on protean and boundary-less careers. Holding a position for a short period of time could mean that the different work-related motivations change from rewards relevant to the current position, to rewards related to the next position or positions. The employee focuses not only on payment, workplace status, advancement, and other workplace related returns, but also on the acquirement of skills and contacts that will serve them in their next job; (2) *Part-time positions* - positions which are less than 35, or even 10, hours a week, and do not enable the worker to fully support him- or herself. These positions often mean that workers have to find another position at the same time. This mechanism is related to the next; (3) *Unpaid over-time* - unpaid hours outside regular working hours. These hours could be motivated by different aims, and interpreted as different assemblages

of paid work and volunteer work; and finally, (4) *Payment itself*, which can be inadequate and, as mentioned earlier, reflect a component of volunteering in the mere agreement to work for lower pay. Chapter 5 explores these mechanisms in detail, to estimate their prevalence among SMO workers. Chapter 7 examines this complex system of workers' motivations, as well as their work autonomy and satisfaction with different aspects of their work. The following section provides a summary of the theoretical chapter, and presents the key research questions I endeavour to answer in this study.

3.7 Summary

This chapter aimed to present an overview of the main theoretical concepts and frameworks I use in this thesis. The chapter first reviewed the literature related to civil society, social movements, and SMOs, reviewing their definition and processes of change. The professionalisation process was presented as a process of change within social movements as well as within SMOs, and its effects on activists, including changing roles from volunteers to workers, were presented. Although SMOs are a specific type of employer, and Social Movements have been theorised by a wide range of scholars, employment within SMOs has not yet been researched systematically.

The chapter then reviewed the second theoretical element of this dissertation – the labour market. I discussed the changes the labour market has gone through since WWII, and the resulting flexible – or unstable – employment mechanisms. I then related these findings to employment in CSOs, showing that workers in the voluntary sector receive lower pay and have lower tenure, while inequalities between men and women are maintained. I presented previous research on the Israeli third sector, supporting these findings for the Israeli case. This points to some of the main issues worth exploring regarding the researched SMOs, although as discussed in Chapter 5, workers in Israeli peace and anti-occupation SMOs have unique traits. Finally, I examined the definition of work and workers – arguing for a need to expand this definition, while keeping clear boundaries to avoid exploitation. I presented the key issues regarding the SMO workers' motivations, which are explored in Chapter 8.

Drawing on this review of the literature, I aim to explore four research questions in this thesis:

Firstly, based on literature describing the personal characteristics of activists and on the literature discussing labour market practices and employment in the third sector, Chapter 5 aims to answer the question: *What factors affect individuals to become SMO workers, and what characterises employment in SMOs?*

Secondly, using labour market literature knowledge on the individual and organisational level effects of demographic characteristics, as well as insights of the values leading SMOs, Chapter 6 addresses the question: *Are there individual or organisational level inequalities in SMOs?*

Thirdly, following the review of Social Movement theory literature related to the professionalisation of SMOs, and the gaps pertaining to the effects of professionalization on SMO workers, Chapter 8 explores the questions: *How do professionalisation and other organisational features affect working conditions?*

Finally, drawing on the literature exploring the motivations of workers as well as the characteristics and career paths of activists and volunteers, Chapter 8 aims to answer the questions: *What motivations, logics, and circumstances drive SMO workers and how is their career structured?*

In the next chapter, I present the methods I used to collect and analyse data that will enable me to answer these questions. The following chapters suggest answers to these questions, based on these data.

Chapter 4: Methods

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapters I have outlined both the theoretical framework I use and the specific case I chose for this study. I have argued for the need to develop new, more effective, ways to think about employment in general, and about its role in SMOs in particular. I have maintained that Israeli peace and anti-occupation SMOs present a valuable case study, due to their variety as well as their political significance. This chapter details the methods I used in my study, their strengths and limitations, and the way they worked in practice. Specifically, I will describe the different measures taken to ensure my research is valid and reliable. Validity hinges on the avoidance of systematic errors, and making sure that the measurement matches the theoretical meaning of the concept, and reliability is the avoidance of random error. I therefore discuss the measures taken to ensure both kinds of errors were minimised as much as possible, and to a degree which enables me reach conclusions based on the data collected.

For this research, I have utilised mixed methods. As described in the introduction of this thesis, the structure of the research subject is inherently multi-levelled, with workers nested within organisations. The mixed methods I have used reflect this structure. First, data at the organisational level were collected from the Israeli Bureau of Associations. Second, a survey was conducted to collect data on demographic attributes, working conditions, and personal views of 200 workers from 32 peace and anti-occupation SMOs in Israel. Third, I led two workshops and completed five semi-structured interviews with SMO members, including employers, employees, and volunteers. This chapter reflects on this design, discussing its different components in chronological order.

The following section looks at the quantitative data used in this research. After defining the key variables and the research population, it describes the way administrative data was collected from the Israeli Bureau of Associations. It then discusses the survey design and administration, which were the main means of data collection for this study. Section 3 puts a spotlight on a specific element of the survey

– the response rate. I believe that the response rate to my survey was the greatest challenge for my research, although it does not fall behind many major social science surveys conducted in the world. I shall describe the issue of response rate in surveys in general, and explain its meanings for this research. I then present the findings of a small experiment carried out within this survey, designed to examine the effects of incentives on response rates at both the organisational and the personal levels. In Section 4, I discuss the mixed methods element of this research, which is aimed at creating a collaboration between the researcher and the studied organisations, as well as to achieve respondent validation – a validation of the research findings and analysis by triangulating them with the respondents’ views and knowledge. I present the approach I chose, which uses the quantitative data as a basis for discussion with the participating organisations. The potential gains are presented, alongside the challenges I faced while creating a dialogue with the researched organisations. The final section of this chapter considers issues of ethics and access. It will describe ethical concerns relating to the methods being used, to the nature of the findings themselves, and to my personal position in the field. It also details the measures I have taken to address these issues, and the way I chose to approach the organisations to minimise their concerns about this research, and to maximise the chances of them agreeing to participate in the study.

4.2 Quantitative Data Collection and Analysis

As mentioned in the introduction, this research uses multilevel methods in its analysis both technically and substantially. Technically, any regression model assumes the different sampled units are independent of each other. In the case of sampling workers in organisations, the workers in the same organisation are likely to be influenced by similar factors, such as the organisation’s culture, size, type of activity and ability to provide different kinds of compensation for work. Controlling for this possible violation of the model assumption is therefore essential, and done by multilevel modelling, which allows the intercept in regression models to vary between the organisations. This technique allows the analysis to be valid, despite the clustered sampling (which is described further in this section). In addition to the technical necessity, multilevel modelling is used substantially to reflect the interest of this

research at both the organisational and the individual levels. It will allow me to use the data to explore individual effects at the same time as (and therefore controlling for) organisational effects. Another benefit of this method of analysis, which is used in Chapter 6, is the ability to divide the variation between the two levels, and assess how much variation of the dependent variable (in this case, working conditions) exists at each of these levels. In this study, the information at the individual level will be collected from the aforementioned survey, while the organisational level data include aggregated data from the survey, together with administrative data collected from the Israeli Bureau of Associations.

This research, thus, involves two types of social actors, or two different levels of analysis which form a complex dynamics of mutual effects. For a sketch of the different variables and levels, see Figure 1.1 on page 10. The first level of analysis is the **workers**, or the individual level. Four kinds of variables in this level were taken into account in the analysis: (1) working conditions, which are the main dependent variables in this project, and will mostly consist of work hours, tenure, and salary; (2) workers' motivations and satisfaction, which are used both as intervening variables in the analysis of factors affecting working conditions and as key dependent variables; (3) indications of workers' career paths, their previous work and future prospects; (4) workers' individual characteristics, which include relevant factors to the labour market such as education and labour market experience, and factors that are not relevant to the individual ability to perform work tasks, which in this case are gender and nationality; and (5) workers' employment arrangements. The second level of analysis is the **organisational** level. Here, the important variables are: (1) the ones indicating the level of professionalisation, including division of labour, training, use of documents, and feelings of control over daily duties and influence over organisational policy. Factor analysis is used to create a professionalisation scale, which acts as the main independent variable; (2) different measures of size and structure that are not part of professionalisation, such as budget and number of workers and volunteers; and (3) the activity areas on which SMOs focus their efforts.

As previously explained, using multi-level analysis allows me to explicitly acknowledge the discrete roles of each of these actors, and to be able to identify

variables at the different levels (Diez-Roux, 2000). This formation does not require me to assume that the workers are statistically independent of each other. If I estimated coefficients without using multilevel modelling, I would assume that the workers are independent, and as a result I would under-estimate the standard error in the model (Maas and Hox, 2005). This danger still exists using a multilevel model, if the number of groups is too small. In this research, there are 32 groups (SMOs), which is a large enough number to avoid such fallacies. Awareness of the multi-level nature of this social reality has enabled me to offer a sociological explanation of the dynamics between different variables, as well as between different types of social actors (Woolsey and Beamish, 2003). This awareness has also assisted in providing findings and analysis that have the potential to be relevant to the different actors in the field of study, as will be described in the last part of this chapter.

To examine the degree to which my multilevel regression models fit the data, I have used the Wald statistics. This test examines the extent to which the suggested model contributes to predicting the dependent variable. This test was chosen as it can be used in all of the models, including the ones predicting a binary variable. The Wald statistics results in a chi-square figure that I have translated into a significance level for each of the models. This is done in order to produce a measure of goodness of fit for the models that is comparable and easy to understand. Another element of goodness of fit of statistical models is the residuals – the distances between the model predictions and the actual values for each case. These residuals were produced and plotted in MLwiN and did not indicate any non-normality in the models.

4.2.1 SMO Sampling Process

This project analyses a representative sample of Israeli peace and anti-occupation organisations. This is key in order to be able to infer from my research sample to the larger population of Israeli peace organisations. In order to create a representative sample, I had to create a sampling frame of all the organisations that are the population from which I sampled. This sampling frame includes 87 organisations, which were identified by using the most comprehensive dataset of organisations available online, that I supplemented with the use of links from the organisations' web-pages. Given the density of the Israeli peace movement (Hermann, 2009), and judging by my own

extensive knowledge of it, this has yielded a comprehensive list that includes all, or nearly all, relevant organisations.

Organisations were identified through the Shatil website.¹⁸ Shatil is a non-governmental organisation which provides consultation, information and support to other organisations in Israel, which are defined as 'Social Change Organisations.' It also operates specific projects in subjects such as pluralism and economic empowerment, usually by coordinating forums of organisations that deal with these subjects. Shatil is a branch of a significant funding body for SMOs in Israel – the “New Israel Fund” (NIF). The NIF is one of the central sources of financial support for peace organisations in Israel. The fund was established in 1979, and works to promote values of civil and human rights, religious freedom, and social and economic justice. It has funded more than 850 civil society organisations to date, which vary from rape crisis centres to workers’ hotline to peace organisations. Its funds come from Jewish donors in the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, and Israel.¹⁹ Since it funds a large variety of organisations and sees itself as part of the “Jewish philanthropic community,” not everyone agree with the views of the New Israel Fund – even within the peace movement. However, to the best of my knowledge, it has not alienated any organisation to the degree that it would refuse to be included in Shatil’s database. Furthermore, as the sources of funding and support are often limited, the assistance offered by the fund and organisation encourages SMOs to collaborate with them or seek their support. The New Israel Fund and Shatil are both led by Jews, but employ Palestinians as well. This could be seen as problematic, but it reflects the situation in the Israeli peace movement overall, so that any other choice would be even more problematic. The Shatil website holds the largest database of SMOs in Israel. The database is based on self-registration of the organisations, and does not require any payment. The size of the database and its wide usage, alongside being connected to two main sources of support for organisations – Shatil and the New Israel Fund - helped to create a comprehensive database for my project. However, because

¹⁸ When conducting this research the list’s web address was <http://shatil.org.il/organisations> [Hebrew]. However, it has since been revised and updated and can now be found at <http://www.shatil.org.il/node/80> [Hebrew]. The current list has 149 organisations, but I estimate that the version I used had another 100 organisations. Unfortunately, I did not count them at the time.

¹⁹ See: <http://www.nif.org/about/faqs/#1>

registration is free, the data is not frequently updated, and thus contains organisations that no longer exist. The list of organisations, therefore, had to be screened for old organisations, and other organisations had to be searched for to achieve a comprehensive list.

From this database, I chose organisations that defined themselves using one or more of the following labels: “co-existence”, “peace”, “Israeli-Arab cooperation”, “target population: Arabs”, and “target population: Palestinian inhabitants of the occupied territories”. Since I see peace and anti-occupation SMOs as including organisations that strive towards a just peace, I have included organisations that do not deal with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict directly, but do work for Palestinians’ rights within this context. I did not include organisations that have multiple causes and do not work specifically towards one of the goals mentioned. This search led to 76 organisations. To make sure that the list of organisations was complete, I used the websites of the identified organisations and followed the links they provided to further organisations. This led me to include 11 more organisations, bringing the number of organisations I sampled from to 87.

The added organisations were, on the whole, newer organisations, although some organisations that have long had their own website have not created a profile in the database. This is because when internet usage was not as prevalent and accessible as today, some organisations struggled to create their own web pages and used the profile options on the Shatil database as an alternative web page. The Shatil dataset provides this service as well as additional services, such as promoting the organisation’s profile for web searches and a platform for publishing wanted ads for SMO workers. Organisations that didn’t need these services may have chosen not to use this platform at all. Additionally, since I used the links and searched the web myself, given that my Arabic is only at a basic level, the sampling could be biased towards the more well-connected organisations, and possibly towards those who use Hebrew or English as one of their languages (although many websites used Arabic as well). Based on my previous knowledge of the field, and after consulting with several activists, I do not think that the type of organisations that were not included impaired the comprehensiveness of the list. The list of organisations itself will not be included in

this study, despite only 32 organisations from it participating. This is because the researched SMOs find research on them to be very sensitive, as detailed in Section 4.5. Even providing a list of SMOs that could have been surveyed may feel threatening to some. As some organisations were adamant that they did not want to be named I have opted to anonymise all organisations in this research. Publishing the names of those who chose not to do so, even in a list with other organisations, would make them feel that I did not respect their wishes.

Once the sampling frame was complete, I used it to randomly select 40 organisations,²⁰ of which 32 took part in the research. In each organisation, all the employees were invited to answer the survey. The gap between the number of organisations I approached and the number which eventually took part is thoroughly discussed in the Section 4.3.

When using multi-level modelling, the important unit of analysis for determining sample size is the second level (Dattalo, 2008; Maas and Hox, 2005). In this research, this is the organisational level. Therefore, it was crucial for my analysis to achieve an acceptable number of participating organisations. Kraft and de Leeuw (1998:126) suggest that a sample of 20 level two units could be acceptable, given a large number of level one units (30 observations in each group). Mass and Hox (2005) determine that the danger of over-estimating the standard error is still significant with a sample of 30 level two units, and is considerably smaller in a sample of 50 organisations. Hox (2010) argues that there is a certain trade-off between the different levels, and suggests "thumb rules" of either 30/30 (30 groups of 30 individuals each), 50/20 (50 groups of 20 individuals each), or 100/10 (100 groups of 10 individuals each). Given the high costs of both time and money, my sample will fall below those guidelines: 200 workers participated from 32 organisations, providing a mean of 6.25 workers per organisation. Given the different scale of the organisations as well as the differences in response rates, as will be detailed in Section 4.3, different organisations had different numbers of workers. This sample size has allowed me to explore the key elements of my research, but has led me to use more models with fewer variables in each of them

²⁰ One organisation was ineligible as they did not employ workers any longer, and another organisation was randomly sampled instead.

(rather than having many variables in a model which may not have enough explanatory power). Another way in which I have chosen to adjust for the small sample size was combining a few different variables into one conceptual scale – the professionalisation scale presented in Chapter 6. Using scales creates a more robust measure of my constructs, as the randomness of each variable within the scale is being balanced by the others. As it decreases the amount of random error, it increases the level of reliability in the research. This has also allowed for further reduction of the number of variables within each model.

4.2.2 Quantitative Data Collection

4.2.2.1 Administrative Data

Data at the organisational level was collected from the Israeli Bureau of Associations. The legal structure of social organisations in Israel bands them under the general title of an association. A social organisation that wishes to employ people legally must register with this bureau and fill in a set of forms. In order to get an authorisation of “proper management,” the organisation must submit an extended form every year. These forms contain, in various levels of detail, information on year of inception, budget, sources of funding, size of organisation, and organisational features. This information is available to the public as a result of freedom of information legislation. Although required by law, not all the organisations have provided information in full, which has led to a large amount of missing data at this level. This has been partially dealt with by using the organisations’ websites. Yet, I only have data on the budget variables and the number of volunteers for 25 and 24 organisations (respectively) out of the 32. These data have been used to create variables at the organisational level, mainly used in Chapter 6.

4.2.2.2 Survey Design

The questionnaire collected data on the research variables at the individual level, as well as some data on the organisations through the employees’ perspective. The questionnaire is presented in Appendix 3. The main topics covered in the questionnaire are: (1) demographic information, such as nationality, age, education and marital status; (2) past experience in the labour market; (3) current position within the

organisation and other current occupations; (4) working conditions, focusing on weekly work hours, tenure, and salary but also including additional issues such as pensions; (5) assessment of the organisation, mainly of measures of professionalisation; (6) feelings towards the organisation; and (7) personal motivations for work.

Whenever possible, questions were taken from two existing surveys that are free for public use: the International Social Survey Programme (ISSP) work orientations survey (2005) and the European Social Survey (ESS) round 5 (2011). The ISSP is a world-wide survey, conducted every year since 1983 and chooses a different topic every year as the focus of the survey (with a 5-10 year rotation). The ESS has surveyed countries across Europe every two years since 2001, and includes a core questionnaire and rotating additional modules on various social topics. The questionnaire in appendix 3 states the source (if any) of each question. Relying on existing questionnaires serves the research in three ways. First, it ensures that all questions have been pre-tested and are not confusing to respondents or have other methodological problems, preventing systematic errors and enhancing validity. Second, those surveys have been translated from English to Hebrew in a valid procedure, which assures the validity of the translation itself, and that no systematic error is caused by the translation process. Finally, using questions from existing surveys has enabled me to compare the answer distribution in my survey with the answer distribution in the wider population. The questionnaires I have used as sources were, as mentioned, distributed in 2005 and in 2011, while my own survey was implemented eight and two years later. However, the Israeli labour market has not changed much in this period of time, especially not in regard to worker-employer relationships and the labour market structure, so I do not anticipate any validity or reliability issues stemming from this gap in years.

After the survey questionnaire was drafted, it was presented to Michael Sternberg from Shatil, who offered helpful comments and suggestions using his knowledge from daily work with relevant SMOs. These reviews were followed by three pre-tests, in which acquaintances who work or had worked in SMOs, but who would not be part of my sample, answered my questionnaire and provided feedback. This feedback led to further changes to the questionnaire, mainly taking out questions regarding personal

political views and experiences not directly related to the workplace, which were seen as intrusive. It also led me to add clear explanations within my questionnaire of the reasons for asking different questions and their relevance to my research. The pre-tests were also used to make sure that the questionnaire was not too long, and I estimated it would take about 15 minutes to answer.

4.2.2.3 Survey Administration

I conducted the survey by telephone. This method is more time and money consuming compared to using an online survey or asking for the questionnaire to be filled in by e-mail, but I expected the phone survey to significantly increase the response rates, as further discussed in the following section, and to provide a more thorough understanding of the data since I was able to hear exactly how the respondents interacted with the survey questions. It is hard to tell what the response rates would have been like had I used an online survey, but the low rate of unanswered questions (missing data at the personal level) and the insights I gained through this process have been very valuable. Response rates to specific questions, and particularly to the question regarding current salary, will be discussed in Chapter 5. Nevertheless, the cost of the phone survey was higher than I anticipated. Answering the questionnaire took between 13 and 15 minutes in most cases, although some questionnaires took as long as 40 minutes, while others took as little as 6 minutes. The response rate was lower than I expected, and asking the survey questions was a minor part of the time devoted to the survey administration. An extensive report on the response rates can be found in the next section. Most time was spent calling respondents again and again, and the large number of rejections made this project very challenging. Nonetheless, the data obtained by this challenging process is of high quality, despite the sample size of 200 workers being relatively small for quantitative analysis. The main reflection of the quality of the data is the high item response rate, or the high proportion of those who answered each question with answers that are useful for analysis. More specifically, these involve answers that don't involve "don't know" or "refuse to answer." In my own survey, the vast majority of the questions had between none to three missing values. The only question with a large amount of refusals related to the respondent's salary, with 49 of the 200 respondents (25%) not answering it. Questions

on individual monthly income usually have a better result in surveys (i.e. Riphahn and Serfling, 2005 with 8.3%; Turrell, 2000 with 9.8%). This attests to the sensitivity of this issue in my sample, and possibly to the fact that the survey was done over the phone, and respondents felt they had less privacy than they would have in an internet based survey.

Overall, the administrative data collection together with the survey data provide a good amount of information to be used in this research, and allow me to conduct analysis that is rigorous and that uses multilevel analysis properly. If a dataset looking at SMO workers specifically had existed, I would have certainly used it – although running my own survey has allowed me to ask all the questions I am interested in, and not compromise with the existing questions, which are normally designed with other theoretical premises in mind. Given more time and resources, I think this research could be enhanced by researching both paid workers and volunteers – to acknowledge the problematic and at times arbitrary boundaries between the two groups, which are often comprised of the same people, doing the same work, in the same organisation. Despite these limitations, the data collected are appropriate to answer the research questions both in terms of enough data for significant findings and in terms of useful variables for the analysis. Furthermore, the measures used are both valid and reliable.

4.3 Response Rate

The analysis presented in this thesis is mainly based on the survey results. It is therefore important to discuss the level to which it is representative of the population of SMO workers. As the sampling plan was random, the danger of non-representative data stems from non-random response rate. Although the proportion of sampled individuals and organizations which responded is not, by itself, an indication of bias, it certainly raises the chances of some groups not being appropriately represented in the data. This section will discuss the response rate to my survey, and the ways in which I tried to enhance it. Response rates to surveys are an issue widely discussed in the literature (e.g.; Smith, 2005; de Leeuw and Hox, 2004; de Leeuw and de Heer, 2002; Groves, Dillman, Eltinge, and Little, 2002; Dillman, 2000; Synodinos and Yamada, 2000; Sarzheimer and Klein, 1999; de Heer, 1999; Inger, Van Hoewyk, and Maher, 1998; Groves and Couper, 1998; Smith, 1995). Since arriving at a sufficient

number of respondents is crucial for the statistical analysis which is at the heart of this project, different measures were taken to try and improve the response rate. First and foremost, response rate was the main reason for choosing a phone survey rather than a less costly web-based survey. Previous studies show that, compared to a web-based survey, a phone survey can get a higher response rate for the entire questionnaire as well as for specific items (e.g. Fricker et al., 2005; Dillman et al., 2009). The second measure was to make sure the survey was short and made sense to the respondents. This was mainly done through the pre-testing process, which was detailed in the previous section, and through the use of questions from existing surveys. The third measure aimed to boost the response rate was to contact the Shatil organisation, which is a respectable organisation and well networked. This is why my relation to it served at times to attest to my credibility as a researcher, as detailed in Section 4.5 of this chapter. The fourth measure was to make full use of any contacts I had, which included workers, members and managers of some of the organisations, as well as their friends and family. This may have meant a higher chance of sampling organisations in which I knew a contact person, but since I had some kind of contact or familiarity in most of the organisations, and since Israel is a small country in which finding contacts is normally done with ease, I do not think this was problematic. A few organisations to which I had no personal contact did participate in the survey, suggesting that my personal network did not dictate the sample. Furthermore, some of the organisations I contacted through personal connections refused to participate. By chance, none of the sampled workers were a very close friend of mine, and the questionnaire is systematically built to be uniform across respondents, including the explanations between the questions, so that the personal familiarity did not, in my opinion, make a big difference. The final measure I decided to take was offering an incentive to some of the respondents, which will be the main topic of this section.

The use of incentives – rewards that aim to motivate respondents to answer the survey – is common in various studies (e.g. Baruch and Holtom, 2008; Ryu et al., 2006; Arzheimer and Klein, 1999; Singer, Van Hoewyk, and Maher, 1998). To raise the response rate in this study, and in order to contribute to the literature on incentives, I chose to introduce an experiment on the effect of incentives on the response rate. I randomly divided the surveyed organisations into two groups, each of 20

organisations: the first group was offered incentives in the form of a prize draw for dinner in a nice restaurant, and the second was offered nothing but the opportunity to support the research. This experiment wishes to shed light on the effect of incentives on response rate in the particular context of civil society, as well as offer an analysis of response rate for both organisations and individuals.

In this section, I first describe the challenging experience of collecting the quantitative data for this research, and report the general response rate for both the personal and organisational level. These response rates are contextualised by considering response rates of major surveys in the social sciences. Secondly, I discuss the results of the experiment in light of previous experiments which were conducted to answer the same research question. Finally, I will reflect on possible biases and limitations which could arise from the response rate.

4.3.1 The Survey Data Collection Process and General Response Rate

When deciding to conduct a phone survey I knew this would be a very challenging task. I did not expect it to be easy, and it was clear to me that many responses would require multiple contact attempts and that the response rate would be low (though perhaps not as low as with an online survey). Despite these expectations, I was overwhelmed by the challenging nature of the data collection, which meant that the survey took approximately 8 months, instead of the intended 3-4 months. This section will first describe the sampling process, and then describe the overall response rates.

For each organisation, the sampling process was twofold: First, I contacted the organisation, introduced myself and provided any documentation the organisations required. Second, I used the personal contacts provided by the organisation to contact the respondents personally. I attempted to contact the organisations in as many ways as I could, and tried contacting each organisation at least six times. In their meta-analysis of phone surveys, McCarty et al. (2006) found a mean of 8.9 call-backs with a 5.2 standard deviation in surveys that involve calling a list of numbers (just as I did – rather than using random digital calling, which was not relevant in this case). Although the number of times I called the same respondent if they did not answer was less than the average, it is within the limit of one standard deviation of the mean. The

main approaches to establish contact involved locating telephone numbers from the organisation's website or publications, telephone numbers of individuals in the organisations from Shatil's contact lists, emails to the organisation or to key people within it, and personal contacts via telephone, email, or social networks with individuals I previously knew.

Each organisation had a different preference of how to provide me with contact details of workers, and I accommodated whichever option the organisation preferred. Some organisations gave me lists of emails and/or phone numbers of their workers. Others asked me to write to them and they forwarded my requests to the workers, who then contacted me. In any case, approaching workers via their employer could be ethically problematic, particularly when the survey is about working conditions. When contacting the employees, I explained the research aims and methods, and felt they generally trusted me to not share the information with their employers. I made sure not to provide any details - to the employer or to anybody else - of which worker, or even how many workers, responded in a specific organisation. When this issue was raised for practical reasons, I used general descriptors such as "many" or "few." I must state that although I was very clear about my definition of workers and all consenting organisations seemed genuine in providing me with contact details and offering the opportunity to their workers, it is possible that a small number of workers were not included. I tried to avoid this by asking again about other workers after each survey, but it is possible some workers were missed. Based on the sampling technique as well as the responses received to my requests, this sample was indeed random, aside from the non-random sampling of freelancers and workers who are not counted as workers. This group of workers will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5. As the non-response in this case seems to have a systematic component, which is hard to assess (though many cases of non-response were clearly not part of this group), this could be an issue affecting the validity of the findings. It is therefore directly controlled for in Chapter 5.

Out of the organisations that agreed to participate, the individual response rate was 197 out of 507, which is 38.9%. This figure only includes the organisations that openly agreed to participate in the survey. When reporting the response rate in this section,

the rate from the participating organisations is reported in the main text, and the total response rate – out of all the organisations I contacted – are reported in a footnote.²¹ To make sure all respondents had an equal chance of answering the survey, I decided to attempt to contact each respondent five times, unless they directly refused - only 9 respondents (1.8%) openly told me they did not wish to participate in the research. However, many of the respondents asked me to call again at a specific time even beyond the fifth attempt of contact, and I did contact them again when requested. Sometimes this exchange of scheduling became rather long, and I had to try to judge if the person genuinely wished to participate but was busy, forgot our scheduled talks, or if they did not wish to participate in the research. I tried to err on the side of caution and contact more rather than fewer times when in doubt. This led to some unpleasant responses from those who wished I would stop calling them.

Phone contact was made with 220 workers. Out of those I contacted over the phone, 88.6% (195) agreed to be interviewed.²² This includes those who were previously contacted by email and scheduled a phone call. Email contact was made with 259 workers. Out of those I contacted by email, 30.9% (80) agreed to be interviewed.²³ This could be seen as a justification for my research strategy, as phone contacts clearly yielded a higher response rate. It is true that contacting a larger number of individuals can offset the lower response rate in online surveys. However, since the response rate contains an unknown and immeasurable element of bias, 200 individuals surveyed out of 617 offers a higher quality of information which is more generalisable than 200 individuals surveyed out of, for example, 1,200. In other words, had I surveyed workers via email it is likely that I would have achieved a similar number of respondents, but the potential risk of sampling bias would be higher.

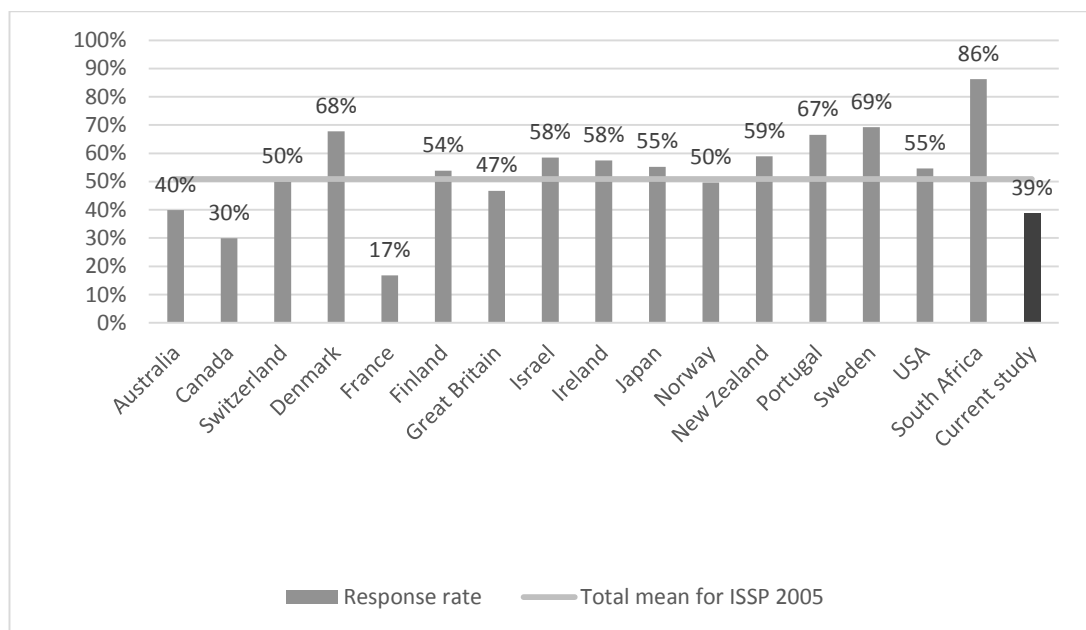
²¹ For all the workers in all the organisations, the individual response rate was 32.4% - 200 out of 617. Response rate was 2.7% (3 out of 110) out of the organisations that refused, and 38.9% (197 out of 507) out of the organisations that agreed. In the organisations that refused, the responses were collected before I knew the organisations will refuse, and both me and the respondents thought the organisation will agree. The ethics of using these three responses is discussed in section 5 of this chapter.

²² Out of all the organisations - Phone contact was made with 232 workers – out of those I contacted over the phone, 85.3% (198) agreed to be interviewed.

²³ Out of all the organisations - Email contact was made with 263 workers – out of those I contacted by email, 31.2% (82) agreed to be interviewed.

This general response rate should be seen in light of response rates in other surveys. Figure 4.1 shows response rates for the 2005 ISSP Work Orientation survey. I chose this survey as a basis for comparison as it looks at a similar topic. However, in the ISSP, different countries use different sampling methods, which affects the response rate. Specifically, the Israeli ISSP response rate is 58%, achieved by a face-to-face sampling, which was not possible for the present study. As can be seen in the figure, the response rate for this survey ranged from 17% to 86%. For ease of reading, this figure only includes some of the countries that participated in this survey. However, the countries with the highest and lowest response rates were kept in the figure. The total mean for the ISSP 2005 response rate is 51%, and is marked with a line in the figure. The response rate I have achieved (at the right hand of the figure) is, therefore, below the mean but also not unusually low.

Figure 4.1: ISSP 2005 (Work Orientations) Response rates: Selected Countries



Source: Scholz et al., 2008

4.3.2 Results of Experiment

The experiment reported here is part of a body of literature attempting experiments on various techniques aimed at raising the response rate (e.g. Brown et al., 2008; Feskens

et al., 2008; Stoop et al., 2010). Baruch and Holtom (2008) examined the response rate and use of incentives in 490 studies utilising surveys, and found that response rates are not related to the use of incentives. However, since this research was done through a meta-analysis, it is possible that researchers chose to use incentives in cases where they anticipated low response rates. If this is the case, low response rates could be the explanation for the use of incentives, and not the other way around. Singer et al. (2000) have found a positive effect for incentives on response rates, but this effect was only found when a prepaid incentive was sent with an advanced letter. Singer et al. (ibid) used a random sample of the general population, not looking at an organisational context.

As stated in the introduction to this section, to examine this question, I offered the workers of 20 of the organisations an incentive of being included in a raffle for a nice meal for two, while the other 20 organisations were not offered any incentive. The use of incentives was mentioned to all the 20 organisations that were offered it from the very beginning. This means that the knowledge that workers would be offered incentives could have informed the organisations' decision of whether to cooperate with my research. Out of the 20 organisations that were offered incentives, 15 (75%) agreed to be interviewed. Out of the 20 organisations that were not offered incentives, 17 agreed to be interviewed (85%). This is a difference of 10 percentage points, which can arguably be attributed to another factor, or regarded as a random difference. Moreover, due to the small number of organisations, this is not a significant difference. Nonetheless, as this difference is repeated at the individual level, I would cautiously suggest a reason for this difference. When approaching organisations with a suggested incentive, they could have seen it as a proposition for exchange, and thus judged whether to take part based on whether they felt the effort was worth the outcome, while when approaching organisations without mentioning incentives, they might have felt it was their moral duty to help me in my research. This moral duty could be towards progressing research or helping out a student, but it is more likely a moral duty towards co-workers, as respondents often felt the research could be useful in revealing and dealing with issues related to their employment.

At the individual level, 253 workers were from organisations that were offered an incentive. 80 of them (31.6%) were interviewed²⁴. 254 workers were from organisations which were not offered an incentive. 117 of them (46.1%) were interviewed²⁵ – a much higher percent than of those who were offered an incentive. Cramer's V measure of this difference is .148, and it is significant at the 99.9% level of confidence.²⁶ The explanation for the negative effect the incentive had on response rate could be similar to that offered at the organisational level – when an incentive was offered, the respondent could consider whether it was worth their time, while without an incentive they could feel more obligated to contribute to the research. Another explanation could be that offering an incentive created an association to market research which is viewed negatively. Although it would be tempting to generalise that SMO workers are more anti-market than most, Chapter 7 discusses this assumption critically and shows a more complex picture, and so this finding is worth considering when sampling SMO workers as well as other types of respondents.

4.3.3 Possible Effects of the Response Rate

Response rates by themselves are not a cause of worry, as they are assumed to be random. As long as those who did not respond did so at random, the survey still represents the population well. However, although the response rate achieved in this project holds international standards, it is worth considering the possibility that it was not achieved randomly. I regard three such possibilities as plausible, given the responses I received while conducting the survey. First, based on the high level of education in my sample and on past research (Baruch, 1999) it is quite possible that my sample's level of education is higher than that of the sampled population. This difference shall be presented in chapter 5. Additionally, it is possible that freelancers were under-represented, as many of the organisations do not count them as workers, and do not keep their contact details together with those of permanent workers. I tried

²⁴ Out of all the organisations - 348 are from organisations which were offered an incentive. 83 of them (23.9%) were interviewed.

²⁵ Out of all the organisations - 269 workers are from organisations that were not offered an incentive. 117 of them (43.5%) were interviewed.

²⁶ Throughout the thesis, statistical significance of contingency tables relies on Chi-Square test. I have adhered to the test assumption that no more than 20% of the cells will have an expected count of less than 5 (Starnes et al., 2010).

to overcome this problem by asking respondents to lead me to additional lists of freelancers, which was largely successful. I received these additional lists and was able to contact freelancers, and some of them are included among the respondents of the survey. Since some of the freelancers have not been reported as such when sampling, I do not have a comprehensive list of them to assess their sampling. Chapter 5 discusses the issue of employment arrangements, and particularly of freelancers, in detail, and controls for any effects it may have on the analysis.

Finally, the working conditions themselves could affect the person's willingness to respond to my survey. This could affect both ends of the spectrum: those with very good working conditions might not feel the need for my research, and those who suffer from very low working conditions could be too scared or discouraged to answer this survey. The latter option, of workers with poor conditions not answering the survey, was apparent in some cases. More specifically, in one organisation that agreed to participate in the survey following personal contacts I had with senior members, none of the workers agreed to participate. In most cases, I was not able to find the reason for such refusals, but in this case one of the workers wanted to be honest when refusing, and explained that she believes the workers felt the topic was too upsetting for them and that they did not wish to discuss it. Still, I believe that the survey had a good representation of unhappy as well as happy workers, and that it does testify to the research population. In the future, an ethnographic study could be useful in researching the marginalised groups among SMO workers, though a survey is the best tool for assessing the population as a whole.

4.4 Workshops and Interviews

This research seeks to provide evidence and findings not only to advance scientific knowledge, but also to affect policy and to assist the various actors in the field to make informed decisions. I believe that quantitative data is a powerful tool in designing social policy, since it can be directly translated into measurable goals. However, in order to properly understand these data and to provide valid analysis, I chose to include an approach where the participants in the research were able to learn about the findings, contribute their own insights, and express their own voice. The flexibility in this standpoint is manifested in my choice of a mixed methods approach (Brannan, 2005).

I see the use of mixed methods as necessary for the full understanding of both the social dynamics, and the way they are perceived (Mason, 2006). As mentioned in the introduction, this also allows me to gain respondents' validation – triangulating my own analysis and understanding with those of the research participants. This allows me to make sure my understanding is reasonable from the perspective of those in the researched field (Torrance, 2012). This process of comparing my own analysis to that of respondents, improves the validity of the research and makes sure it stays in touch with the social reality and social actors it aims to study.

The use of mixed methods in this research was built in an explanatory fashion (Blaikie, 2000: 209). The quantitative data was gathered through the Israeli Bureau of Associations' administrative data and through the phone survey. I then used the personal level data from the survey to create an initial analysis. This analysis was the basis for three face-to-face individual interviews with respondents to the survey who agreed to be contacted for an interview, and two workshops with employers, employees, and members of participating organisations. All participating organisations were invited to at least one of the workshops, although to make sure that the workshops were attended and to provide a suitable location I used two of the organisations as hosts of the workshops. After further analysis was done, including at both the organisational and the personal levels, two further individual interviews were conducted over Skype. This allowed me to be directed by the participants in a meaningful way, in a stage of the research in which they could impact my analysis and what areas I should focus on, while also receiving additional feedback on the analysis and interpretation after the vast majority of the analysis was ready. Four of the five interviewees were survey respondents, and the fifth was one of the workshop participants. They were chosen to represent aspects of gender and nationality, but also to assist with the data analysis. One interviewee in particular was chosen because of his engagement with a labour union, which made the interview interesting for both sides and allowed me to ask specifically about the union. Unlike the survey, in which I tried to encourage everyone in the sample to respond, the interview participants were, to a large extent, chosen based on their interest in the research and their willingness to help with it. They are, therefore, less representative of all workers with all levels of

interest, but they brought valuable and thoughtful insights to the analysis and were critically engaged when discussing the findings.

Both the workshops and the interviews were based on sharing the research findings, establishing contextualised explanations of these findings, and developing an understanding of what information the participants find interesting and useful (and what information they found to be irrelevant). Another key aspect of the workshops and interviews was the joint discussion of further ideas for analysis, a process which was facilitated by having the dataset and conducting analysis when questions or ideas came up, whenever possible, supplemented by further analysis after the workshop or interview. It was thus important to share preliminary research findings, which did not present closed-ended questions and established ideas, but rather initial analysis to be used as the basis for collaborative thought.

Although the workshops and interviews had the topics (the same presentation was used) and most of the goals in common, they differed in other ways. The interviews had the benefit of anchoring the participants' interpretation with their own personal experiences and position. The workshops, on the other hand, included participants who both did and did not take part in the initial survey. This is in part because they were attended by employers as well as employees. The hosting organisations (as well as any other organisation wishing to do so) could use the workshops as a basis for an organisational discussion on employment arrangements, which could serve as a first step towards policy change within these organisations. For the research purposes, the workshops and interviews were recorded with the participants' permission, as detailed in the following section. These recordings were later transcribed, except for one workshop for which the recording did not work properly, and so I used the short notes I made during the workshop with my own memory of it and wrote it up as best as I could a few hours after it took place. Sections of these transcriptions were translated into English, when this was useful for writing the thesis.

The way I chose to use the interview and workshop data compliments the quantitative data and supports the quantitative analysis. However, due to the small number of respondents and to the heavy focus on understanding the data together, these data cannot be used to generate common career paths or a deep qualitative analysis. No

themes were extracted from the interview and workshop transcriptions and grounded theory techniques were not used in their analysis, but rather an overall understanding of the social reality was sought. This limitation further emphasises the focus of this research, in enhancing the understanding of working conditions, careers and motivations in SMOs through creating a representative, quantitative dataset – and analysing this dataset in collaboration with participants from the field of study. Overall, I believe that the use of both quantitative and qualitative methods has allowed me to achieve representative, generalisable data, due to the validity achieved through the aforementioned triangulation process. It also enabled me to provide rich and grounded explanations for these data.

4.4.1 Interview and Workshop Presentation and Schedule

As previously mentioned, the interviews and workshops had a similar schedule, but with different emphases to suit the different situations and maximise the contributions to the research. The interview and workshop schedule can be found in Appendices 1 and 2. The interviews started with a review of the interviewee's history in the labour market and educational systems, highlighting the path that led them to work in the specific organisation they work for in particular, and in SMOs more generally. This was followed by questions regarding the interviewee's experiences and views on their organisation. These parts were aimed at achieving a better understanding of the participant's position and interpretations, as well as to hear first-hand about some of the experiences and views that appear in the survey. The second and main part of the interviews included going through the presentation together, discussing the different slides in a collaborative way, which resembled more a free conversation than an interview. When questions came up that could be answered quickly with the dataset, I ran the analysis to provide the answer during the interview. When a question took longer to answer, I promised to conduct the analysis and send the results later. Finally, the last few minutes were devoted to feedback on the research and the process. The workshops had a very similar structure to the interviews, but less time was devoted to introduce the different participants and their organisational roles, and more time was spent discussing the presentation.

As explained above, the first three interviews and the two presentations were mainly based on the discussion of initial findings, used to create a powerpoint presentation. The presentation covered six main topics, with an additional discussion of pensions created at the request of a participant at one of the workshops. After a short introduction to the research goals and the leading theoretical concepts, the presentation discussed (1) the different employment arrangements (e.g. monthly payment, hourly payment, freelance, or employment through scholarships) and their working conditions; (2) paid and unpaid overtime; (3) actual and preferred hours (e.g. discussion of part-time workers) and salary distribution; (4) educational level and area of workers, and the trajectories which brought them to work in SMOs; (5) workers' satisfaction (compared with that of workers in the general Israeli labour market based on the ESS survey) and factors affecting it; and (6) workers' motivations (compared to those of workers in the general Israeli labour market based on the ISSP survey). In hindsight, the respondents would have liked more information on my approach to collecting the data, which were only briefly presented at the introduction to the presentation. Additionally, given more time, I would have included the organisational as well as individual level analysis in all the workshops and interviews, and not just in the last two interviews, in order to help participants understand more fully how I used the data. Nevertheless, the workshops and interviews were a crucial part of my analysis, guiding me to relevant findings and reasonable explanations, even if these were not always directly suggested. The main interest for the research participants was often very different from that of the literature. For example, they did not care much for funding bodies and professionalisation process, while being very passionate about issues of inequality in SMO employment. In this thesis, I balance the two interests, although it is the contribution to the literature that guides me in writing it. However, in a separate report of findings to the organisations, I shall focus more on those areas that are of most interest - and use - to the research participants.

4.4.2 Managing the Workshops and Interviews

The workshops and interviews provided invaluable data for my project, however, some aspects happened differently than planned. As with the survey, one of the key elements was the response rate. I was aware that SMOs in Israel hold constant meetings and

work very hard, so the expectations were set out realistically: I planned to have three 2-hour workshops geographically located in the three centres of civil society in Israel – Haifa, Tel Aviv, and Jerusalem, with 8-12 participants in each. Unfortunately, this proved to be less realistic than I expected, and I held two workshops (in Haifa and Tel Aviv), with ten and six participants. Managing to find a date that worked for different people from various organisations within the two and a half weeks I spent in Israel was difficult, and so I had to cancel the third workshop due to lack of interest. All the participating organisations were invited to at least one of the workshops, and there was no selection process – everyone who was interested was welcome, and responses of intention to attend were only collected to make sure there were enough chairs and cookies. Although I believe that this lack of interest mainly stems from lack of time, there could be other explanations for it. Just as with the survey response rate, it is possible that organisations who have discussed this matter extensively or that felt the working conditions in their organisations were good, had less motivation to come to such a workshop. On the other hand, fear and a feeling that their voices will not be heard in their organisations could be a dissuading factor for others. Either way, it is possible that those who chose to attend wanted to bring their personal agenda and could sway the analysis with their opinions. This sense of strong opinions from the field that are not always founded on empirical knowledge was part of the reason for my choice to collect quantitative, representative data on SMO workers. In other words, it is possible that the self-selection of workshop participants could have affected my analysis, but since the quantitative findings remain the same, it can only have done so to a limited degree.

To get information from the field as a whole, it was important to have workers, volunteers, and employers in the workshops. Determining who the employers in SMOs are is problematic. The legal employers are the organisations' board, who are responsible for associations according to Israeli law. However, the extent of the board's involvement in employment relations varies in different organisations, and in many cases senior workers, such as the CEO of the organisation, determine the working conditions and responsibilities *de facto*. Fortunately, the workshops had a mix of board members, volunteers, and workers in both managerial and non-managerial positions. This fact proved to be vital in the creation of discussion. The workshops had

two men and 15 women participants, and had two Palestinian and 15 Jewish participants. This bias towards women and Jewish participants stemmed mainly from the organisations themselves. It had an effect on the type of questions asked, when requests for comparisons between men and women in the sample came up in both workshops, while a request to compare Jewish and Palestinian respondents came up in one workshop.

I felt that having both employers and employees together enabled an informed discussion between them, which could not have happened without the presence of data. These discussions have not led to a quick solution – board members emphasised the constraints of funding and the ways in which they aim to employ in a fair way, while the workers highlighted the gaps between the work tasks they are expected to perform and the compensation, both monetary and in terms of stability, that they receive for it. However, some productive suggestions were also made, and an open dialogue occurred. Suggestions were of both a practical nature – such as saving part of the budget in case a task takes more time than expected, or being less ambitious when applying for funds – and of a relational nature, such as being aware of both the workers' needs for stability and future occupational trajectories and acknowledging the organisation's need to plan its budget in advance which leads to an inability to pay more after work has been done.

Scheduling the interviews was an easier task, as I could find a time to work for each respondent, and could choose the respondents who best suited the research needs. Each interview lasted between an hour and an hour and a half. Two of the respondents were Jewish women, one was a Jewish man, one was Palestinian women and one was a Palestinian man. Three were full-time workers, one a part-time worker, and one was not a worker but a member of the organisation who participated in decision-making. They all had experience as workers in other organisations before their current role, and for three of them this experience included work as freelancers. They were also selected to reflect different sizes of organisations with different activity areas, as well as different geographical locations. All of the participants in the interviews have worked in more than one SMO in their career (which was not a factor I considered when selecting interviewees), which provided a broader perspective for the research. The

choice of only conducting five interviews does not comply with the common advice, of interviewing until new interviews do not contribute any new information to the research (Guest et al., 2006). This reflects the special role of interviews in this research – of using the interviewees as partners in understanding the findings and to shed light on specific experiences and views, rather than expecting interviewees to represent a larger group that is being researched. The interviewees were asked to spare a large amount of their time (about an hour and a half) and so this process required them to be interested in the research – an interest that would create bias if there was an attempt to generalise findings following the interviews and workshops.

Most of the discussions, in both the interviews and the workshops, became very interesting and emotional, and even heated at times, and it was hard to keep them within the time limits. This led to very short periods of time devoted to providing feedback on the process and data. However, this by itself implies that the data were interesting and relevant. All interviewees and workshop participants, except for one, thought organisations would be interested in this data, provided that it was presented in a short and clear way, such as in a research briefing. Following this experience, I think the mixed-methods approach I adopted for this project is very suitable for SMOs. Although the fact that the data was collected using their own organisations was crucial in this case, as there was no SMO-specific quantitative data before this project, I think this process could work well in other situations, using existing survey data.

4.5 Ethical Considerations and Access

This research raises ethical concerns which are an integral part of the political environment in Israel, in which peace and anti-occupation SMOs feel threatened and are subject to interrogation (e.g. Lis, 5.1.2011). I have attempted to answer some of these concerns by keeping personal and organisational details confidential, and making sure that the analysis does not reveal this information. This consideration will be kept throughout this dissertation while analysing both the individual and the organisational levels, though data at the organisational level was collected through the reports of the Bureau of Associations in Israel, which are in the public domain. When recording workshops and interviews, I asked participants for permission before starting to record (Bryman, 2004; Neuman, 2003; Ritchie and Lewis, 2003). This was done orally, as is

the norm in research done in Israel. Before the meetings, there was a brief explanation regarding myself, the research, and the way the interviews and workshops are organised. The explanation was given orally for interviews, while I sent a formal invitation for the workshops. One decision I had to make was in regards to three workers who responded to the questionnaire assuming I would receive organisational consent, but the organisations later refused to participate. In these cases, since the informed consent of the individuals predated the organisations' refusal, and given that the research is anonymous on the individual and the SMO level, I have decided to use the data collected from the questionnaires. On the one hand, this decision violates the refusal of the organisations and so is ethically problematic. If the research were not anonymised, I would have not used these data. On the other hand, since the individuals did consent and since the research is anonymised, I do not think the decision to include the data can negatively affect the organisations themselves or the workers who responded.

Other concerns were related to the findings themselves and to the way in which they are used. As is discussed in Section 4 of this chapter, these concerns could be seen as a deterrent for some potential respondents from participating in this research. To address this issue as much as possible, I have used different contacts and collaboration with the field, alongside a provision of clear explanations of the research goals and scope when contacting potential respondents. Conforming to the recommendations made by the literature (Bryman, 2004; Neuman, 2003; Ritchie and Lewis, 2003; Blaikie, 2000), I have offered to send participating organisations and individuals a report with the main findings. None of the participants have declined this offer, although some showed more interest in it than others. All the participating SMOs as well as individuals who participated in the interviews and workshops have then been given the opportunity to choose whether they want to be named in this thesis and following publications. This was to provide confidentiality to those who want it, but also to give credit to those who have contributed to this research and wish to be named in it.

Growing up in Israel, I played an active part in the peace and anti-occupation movement. As a result, I have many friends and contacts in the field. This has granted

me an access point, as well as a need to be aware of possible bias. Being part of the field, though somewhat distanced from the specific topic of research as I was never a worker in an SMO, poses some important dilemmas. Indeed, as Weber (1946 [1919]) argues, values are an inseparable part of my choice of topic, but not necessarily of my analysis. My focus on working conditions could be seen as taking a side by itself (Becker, 1967), as by making this choice I implicitly argue for the importance of working conditions in the specific employment relationship. Yet, I also empathise with the organisations' need to keep working under challenging and uncertain financial conditions.

I see the issue of reciprocity as one that lies at the heart of the relationship between the social researcher and the participants in the research (Harrison et al., 2001; Wax, 1982). In Israel, social research saw a heated debate following a complaint about Israeli sociology and anthropology departments for not being ethical towards the groups they study, mainly Mizrahi Jews and Palestinians. The main concern was that knowledge that originated from researched communities was used to promote the researchers' careers, while not properly acknowledging the research participants' contribution and not contributing back to it (see Lavie and Levy, 2005 for a prominent part of the debate in English, and the Mizrahi Democratic Rainbow (2012) for the complaint in Hebrew). This debate has encouraged me to try and find ways in which my findings, and even parts of my data collection, could be of interest to the research subjects. Throughout this research there has been a conscious attempt to collaborate with the organisations, rather than just use them as means to collect data. As described earlier in this chapter, some of the respondents have expressed great interest in my findings and were happy to have an opportunity to learn about them, and even use them as a starting point for an organisational discussion, while others did not show such interest.

4.6 Validity and reliability

As mentioned at the introduction to this chapter, I based my methodological choices on their potential contribution to the measures' validity and reliability. To conclude these considerations, this section offers a discussion of the reliability of my methods, followed by a discussion of their validity. While validity and reliability are both useful

tools to improve the robustness of research, they are ideals to aspire to rather than goals to reach, and therefore reflecting on the degree to which they are achieved is helpful to assess this study.

Reliability is the lack of random mistakes, or of fluctuations, in measures used in the research. As the survey used to obtain most of the data in this research was conducted in a systematic way, reliability issues are unlikely to stem from it, particularly because existing survey questions were used whenever possible. However, such a level of standardisation was not possible to achieve in the interviews and the workshops, as each of these had different settings, and the workshop results were affected by the group dynamic and not just by the participants themselves. However, using a single presentation for the workshops and three of the five interviews, as well as using the interview and workshop schedules (see Appendices 1 and 2) does enhance the research reliability.

Validity requires me to ask myself whether I am measuring what I aim, or claim, to measure. Breaking this down to more manageable questions, I ask whether I measured *all* that I aimed to measure, and *only* what I aimed to measure. Lack of validity would mean that my methods include bias – a systematic diversion of my measures or analysis to a specific direction. While some unreliability would not necessarily change the results of my analysis, validity issues have greater potential to produce incorrect results. The main potential source of such bias in this research comes from the sampling procedures. The sampling procedure of the survey has been discussed in section 4.3.3, but the main concerns related to the survey sampling are an over-representation of workers with higher education, and an effect of the working conditions themselves on the likelihood of responding to the survey. However, sampling procedures also apply to the interview and workshop participants.

The interviewees were chosen, to a certain extent, to represent key attributes (namely gender and nationality) in the sample, as well as to flash out specific elements that came up in the preliminary analysis, such as the effect of labour unions on working conditions. By contrast, workshop participants were not chosen by me, as the workshops were open to any member of the participating organisations, including SMO managers and board members. This helps in including the voices of employers

in the employment relationship I am studying, but limits my ability to assess the representativeness of the voices I have included. Their contribution to the way analysis was interpreted, and to the weight given to some of the analysis, has been important, and yet I do not have an estimate of the degree to which they represent the research population. Specifically, interview and workshop participants were interested in inequalities in SMO employment, which has led me to explore this issues in greater depth than I would had I relied only on the literature to guide my views on what elements are important for analysis. However, some issues that did not attract the participants' attention as well as analysis which was done after the workshops and interviews were still included, to reflect their importance in the literature and my understanding of this research. In terms of interpretation, using participants as research partners rather than only objects enhances the research validity as it ensured that my analysis and interpretations were in line with how participants themselves saw the findings and their meaning. In this context, it is important to remember that the participants' views do not necessarily represent those of the entire research population. Yet, the discussions in the workshops and reviews of the interviews revealed many disagreements among participants, suggesting a range of opinions was represented rather than a single view.

In conclusion, reflecting on the research validity and reliability offers both strengths and limitations of the research methods used, both in the data collection and in the analysis stages. While the quantitative data was gathered to ensure a high level of representativeness, the use of the qualitative data does have the potential to be biased to some degree.

4.7 Summary

This chapter has outlined the methods I used for this research, and discussed the opportunities they opened for me as a researcher, as well as the different challenges they posed. I presented the explanatory path this research has chosen. This path started with administrative data collection and a survey of 200 workers form 32 randomly selected SMOs, which were followed by workshops and interviews that took part during the data analysis process and informed it. Response rate was a key issue with both the quantitative and the qualitative data analysis, which could imply that those

with extremely good or extremely poor working conditions have not taken part in this research. As is usually the case with response rate, it is hard to know this at any level of certainty. However, I felt that there was a wide range of organisations in terms of size, budget and areas of activity, workers of different ages, nationalities, and organisational roles, and examples of different employment conditions and arrangements.

I have discussed two main concepts that I built my methodological approach on: The first is multilevel analysis – which allows me to conduct quantitative analysis at various analytical levels at the same time. This has been vital, as this research is about organisations as much as it is about workers, which is derived by the exploration of employment. The second methodological concept has been my attempt at knowledge exchange with the researched SMOs, which led to the devising of a mixed-methods approach. Throughout the research design, data collection and analysis I aimed to maximise the validity and reliability of the *research tools*, through using existing questions and pre-testing my questionnaire; the *data collection* through appropriate sampling and analysis which can correct for the lack of independence between observations in clustered sampling; and the *analysis*, through triangulating my understanding of the findings with that of research participants.

Chapter 5: “Without Noticing They Give You Work, Work, Work:” Paths into SMO Work and Working Conditions

5.1 Introduction

Who works in SMOs? How did they get there? What are their working conditions? In this chapter, I aim to provide a clear picture of workers, career paths, and work in this context. This chapter introduces the SMO workers, identifies their specific characteristics, and follows the main biographical elements that could explain their position as SMO workers. It therefore aims to both *describe* workers’ characteristics and working conditions, and to offer an *explanation* of them. I shall address the following research question, stemming from the literature on social movements and the labour market that was presented in Chapter 3: *What factors lead individuals to become SMO workers, and what characterises employment in SMOs?* To this end, I address four questions:

- *How and why do individuals become SMO workers?*

By looking at the workers’ past, I hope to explore the considerations that they use when making career choices in the present and may use in the future. These biographical paths are examined in three areas: (1) education; (2) family background; and (3) workers’ career perception and planning. Here, I would like to consider the concept of an activist career as one that could assist in understanding employment in SMOs. This concept incorporates the protean, boundaryless career on the one hand, with the understanding of the underlying issues that Social Movement theory suggests for professionalisation processes on the other hand. This concept, based on Staggenborg’s (1988) research of SMO leaders, will be used in this chapter as well as in Chapter 8, to suggest a way to understand SMO workers’ career choices and motivations.

Following this analysis of the pathways that led SMO workers to their current positions, I offer a systematic review of workers’ characteristics and working conditions. Organisational level variables, as well as workers’ motivations and occupational paths, are discussed in the next empirical chapters. However, at this point I want to start with

an in-depth description of the current occupational situation of SMO workers in peace and anti-occupation organisations in Israel. This analysis of workers' characteristics and working conditions is largely based on labour market literature, reflecting the social movement literature's lack of attention to issues of employment. In this thesis as a whole, I use cross-sectional data to examine on-going processes of change – mainly focusing on professionalisation processes and career trajectories. This chapter, however, begins this examination with a description of what can be thought of as the outcome of these processes, in the specific time point in which this research was conducted. This is the first time, to the best of my knowledge, that representative survey data is being used to address these issues in SMOs, which makes the description of how the data is distributed particularly meaningful. The following three research questions all aim to create a well-rounded picture of current workers and work in Israeli peace SMOs. These findings will be the basis for the analysis of the reasons, consequences, and perceptions of this picture, which will be presented in the following chapters.

- *Are SMO workers distinct in their characteristics, such as age, gender, education, nationality composition, and experience in the labour market?*

Following the workers' entry paths into SMOs, these characteristics are a good starting point to explore this group of workers, as the beginning of creating their collective portrait. Additionally, as I will show in the following sections, working conditions are related to these characteristics. Education and experience in the labour market are investments workers make, for which they receive a return in their employment (e.g. De Gregorio and Lee, 2002). On the other hand, gender and nationality should not make a difference to these returns – but as I will show in Chapter 6, they do.

- *What are the working conditions in SMOs, and how do they compare to those in the Israeli labour market? Specifically – what are the distributions of working hours, tenure, and salary?*

To answer this question I explore working conditions, focusing on three aspects that were mentioned as important in conversations with SMO workers prior to the beginning of this project: working hours, including part-time jobs and over-time; tenure and limited contracts; and salary. The findings regarding workers' attributes will be

used to assess the salary levels, since the level of educational attainments in SMOs is higher than in the Israeli labour market.

- *What are the occupational arrangements in SMOs and how do they affect working conditions?*

Alternative occupational arrangements, such as freelance work and payment by scholarships, could have an effect on working conditions as well as on other aspects of the relationship between workers and employing organisations. The proportions of these arrangements among SMO workers are important, and so are the working conditions of workers in such arrangements.

Workers' characteristics, as well as working conditions, including salary and weekly hours, will be discussed in the context of the conditions provided in the Israeli labour market. For this purpose, I use a dataset collected by the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics, called the Social Survey 2012. The Social Survey is a yearly cross-sectional survey of a representative (randomised, using complex sampling) sample of the Israeli population of those above 20. In 2012, the survey had 7160 respondents, of whom 4640 (64.8%) were working at the time of the survey. I focus on these workers so that the survey is compatible with my sample that only includes working individuals. The social survey has been conducted every year since 2002 for the budgetary unit in the Israeli treasury, and uses Computer-Assisted Personal Interviewing (CAPI). Given the expertise of the Central Bureau of Statistics, this survey is widely considered to be highly reliable.

The survey includes both repeated and changing modules. The repeated modules include topics such as health, tenure, employment, education, and economic status. The 2012 survey also included modules on pensions, retirement arrangements, and on workers' unions. This survey therefore provides a wide range of variables relevant to my analysis and will be used to contextualise my findings. The main limitation of using this survey is that I only have access to a partial dataset, in which variables were recoded to protect respondents' privacy. Unfortunately, the process of achieving access to the full data is long, expensive, and was not practical for my thesis. Despite this limitation, using the Social Survey assists greatly in understanding and analysing the

findings of my own survey. In my analysis, I use the weighting variable provided with the survey data to adjust for sampling and non-response biases, as well as to match the Israeli population distribution of the variables of household size, work force participation, education, geographic unit, sex, and age. This weighting has no parallel in my own survey, since my survey was designed to give every worker the same probability of being sampled, and since I have no indication of the population measures that would allow me to weight the survey responses against. I therefore ran the analysis twice – with and without weights on the social survey, and found no meaningful differences in significance or direction of relationships between the two modes of analysis. To examine the significance of any differences between the Israeli labour market and SMO workers, the two files (my own survey and the Social Survey) were merged and Cramer's V and chi-square tests were used. In these tests, I applied the Social Survey's weights as explained above. When examining the effects of employment arrangements such as freelancers, I used multilevel regression models.

This chapter is structured in accordance with the four research questions it aims to answer. The following section explores the pathways into SMO work. Section 5.3 will review the attributes of workers in SMOs compared to those of workers in the Israeli labour market. Section 5.4 discusses three areas of working conditions: payment, hours, and tenure. It also looks at these areas in SMOs compared to the conditions in the Israeli labour market. Section 5.5 focuses on types of employment: monthly paid workers, freelancers, and scholarships. Finally, Section 6 offers a summary of the main findings in this chapter.

5.2 Paths into Working in SMOs

This section explores two important aspects in the path towards becoming an SMO worker. It outlines a partial answer to the question: *How and why do SMO workers become SMO workers?* Different theoretical approaches can be used to answer this question. By looking at individuals as rational, and considering their incentives and costs, Rational Action Theory (e.g. Olson, 1971), attempts to answer a similar question: Why do individuals become activists? This is a somewhat similar view to that of motivations, which will be discussed in Chapter 8, but only individual benefits are considered. Therefore, a social-ideological motivation that is prominent in my

research findings, would not normally be considered as an incentive. Based on Bourdieu's practice theory, Crossley (2003) offers a conceptualisation of a 'radical Habitus' – a disposition towards social activism which includes:

(1) perceptual-cognitive schemas which dispose agents to question, criticise and distrust political elites and processes, (2) the political know-how to transform this distrust and criticism into action, (3) an ethos which encourages engagement [...] and binds a sense of individual meaning and worth to it, (4) a 'feel' for protest and organizing which allows agents to derive purpose and enjoyment from it, to 'believe' in it and to feel 'at home' doing it. (Crossley 2003: 52)

This disposition is developed through the individual biographical exposure to contentious politics, as well as through their involvement in protest movements and events (*ibid*). In this research, I argue that workers' involvement in SMOs would be better understood through the concept of an activist career, reflecting their position which is different from that of an activist. Section 3 in Chapter 8 will discuss the continuous nature of work in SMOs through the concept of an activist career, while this section reviews what the empirical data of the present study suggests regarding SMO worker biographies. Crossley (*ibid*) identifies two important elements in these biographies: parents, and higher education. In this section I look at parents' occupation, and at the workers' specific area of study in their highest educational qualifications, as measures of these two aspects.

The measures I use to explore these topics only show a glimpse of the potential issues related to them, as a more in-depth examination is beyond the scope of this thesis. Other methodologies, such as life-stories, are better at examining questions of the biographical paths leading individuals to specific positions (Atkinson, 1998), and workers' experiences more broadly. Through interviews and observations, Staggenborg (1988) examines SMO workers' positions within their organisations and these positions' relations with these workers' career types. Roth (2015) offers an in-depth account of aid workers' career paths, based on biographical methods. Despite not being able to offer this level of depth, the two points I will explore are the key biographical points research on social movements suggests (Crossley, 2003), and will help map the general distribution among SMO workers. This section first examines workers' educational choices and offers a critical perspective of the motivations

workers use given these study areas. It will then look at workers' parents' occupations, to learn about their family background.

5.2.1 Education and Academia

One key element in forming a career path is education (Breen and Jonsson, 2005; Shavit and Muller, 1998). The level of education and percentage of students among SMO workers is discussed in detail in the next section, where I show that there is a high percentage of degree holders among SMO workers in the sample (75.9% with an academic degree, 39.7% with an MA or higher). There is also a large proportion of current students (23.5%) in SMOs. Notably, attendance in academic institutions can, by itself, enhance and facilitate social movement participation (Crossley, 2000). Given these high percentages, the question of area of studies is central to the understanding of how and why SMO workers have become SMO workers. In my sample, 16 of the respondents (9.2%) have completed a degree in a field directly related to their SMO work, such as conflict resolution, peace, human rights, or SMO management.²⁷ This indicates their inclination towards work in SMOs even before entering their degree programme, and also implies that their program of study and peers have all taken part in encouraging this disposition. However, study areas directly related to the SMO work were not the most common choice. The most prevalent area of studies is the social sciences (28.3%), followed by the humanities (17.9%), law (15.6%), and education (11.0%). All these areas are over-represented in SMOs compared to Israeli students in 2012. However, this does not mean that a large proportion of students from these study areas are working in SMOs. In fact, SMO workers make up a very small part of each of these groups (with the possible exception of studies directly related to SMO work).²⁸

To better understand these findings, see their expressions in specific contexts, and explore possible explanations for them, I have collaborated with participants in the interviews and workshops. As described in Chapter 4, this process included showing participants some of the research findings and discussing possible interpretations of these findings, as well as contextualising these interpretations with the participants' own experiences. The interviewees and workshop participants all noted that this

²⁷ For the full distribution, see table 1 in Appendix 4.

²⁸ The full distribution is presented in Table 1 in Appendix 4.

finding could be explained by two different factors: the nature of areas of study such as social sciences and humanities, that is more likely to attract students with social change aspirations. Such individuals are also more likely to work in SMOs; and the lack of possibilities in the Israeli labour market for graduates from these areas of study. The two factors could be seen as reflecting two types of rationalities (Weber, 2009 [1915]), in the career planning process: (1) value-led rationality, in which the individual is being led by interest in particular areas and guided by ideological, and even social, motivations; and (2) instrumental rationality, in which the individual reflects on his or her opportunities given a specific area of studies and is being driven by material-financial motivations, aiming to find the best available position given the worker's existing educational qualification. A theoretical understanding has been suggested in Section 3.3 and will be further discussed and empirically assessed in Chapter 7. It is important to note that while these factors are considerations workers seem to use in their choice to work in the SMO sector, they are not determinants and are being used in a complex system of decision-making. For SMO workers, this system includes both the decision of participating in a social movement, and the decision on a career move.

Following Zald and Ash's use of the Weberian view of professionalization (1966), I conceptualise this process as a form of bureaucratisation. The transition from value-led rationality to instrumental rationality is at the heart of this process, and so the inclusion of considerations which represent instrumental rationality attest to the professionalisation inherent to this field. In one of the workshops, when I presented the distribution of study areas among SMO workers, one participant said: "these are the occupations of unemployment," and another one agreed: "the choice of work in social organisations is not only because they want to but also because they have no other choice." These participants are referring to a public debate in Israel, supported by an extensive review by the most popular Israeli newspaper, "Yedi'ot Aharonot"²⁹ and its online website, "YNET", on the lack of occupational possibilities for graduates of the social sciences and the humanities. One representative headline states "I am talented, hence the frustration" with a sub headline stating "I shout for those who

²⁹ Recently, a free newspaper has gained more readers than Yedi'ot Aharonot – but its status is under debate.

thought that if they turned to higher education, their future is promised, and are not even getting a first chance” (Menin, 25.09.2013). The problem of a lack of occupational opportunities for academics is particularly dominant among Palestinians, as explained in Chapter 3. Here, this lack of opportunities stands for an instrumental rationality, attempting to make the most of the limited opportunities the labour market has to offer.

This theme of a lack of opportunities associated with some of the areas of study was raised by participants in the interviews and workshops. One interviewee suggested the following interpretation, which resonated with the statements of two other interviewees and of workshop participants:

Humanities is very close to the social sciences [...] the line between them isn't clear to everyone. That's one thing. Another thing, when you learn humanities, what will you do for a living? Either a teacher, or, like... and especially Arab workers, and Jews too, but especially Arabs. Either a teacher, or that you take part in civil society. Other paths are less open to you, in my opinion. [...] I also think that there is a specific type of people that choose these studies, that some of them are activists or idealists that want to influence or try to change.

I only applied to civil society organisations... But... Why did I do this? There are a few factors here: first, it's a place that I know how to handle myself in, because I've been here before so I have accumulated experience. On the other hand, there aren't that many options of occupations, especially to the educated Arab society. I mean, working in a governmental office isn't really open to me, and working as a teacher, isn't... I worked a third of a year and it wasn't for me. [...] That's why. There aren't too many options. [...] Obviously in civil society you won't get rich.

This interviewee perceives humanities and social sciences as areas of study that are more attractive to activists or idealists. This implies that the area of study does not, by itself, affect the choice to become an SMO worker – but rather both the choice of study and the choice to become an SMO worker are affected by a common disposition. He also supports the perception of the humanities and social sciences as areas of study with limited occupational possibilities. Referring to his personal position and experiences, he then explains that this applies to Palestinians in particular, and uses himself as an example of someone with limited opportunities in the labour market, despite having an impressive academic and occupational record. Finding a suitable position is a common problem for all academic Palestinians in Israel, and not just those

in specific areas of study (Hamdan and Awad, 2010). Besides being a teacher (an option mentioned by the other Palestinian interviewee in this research), he feels the only place where he can use his skills is in an SMO. In his interpretation, he has also described his own personal reality of accumulating experience and feeling, as Crossley puts it, ‘at home’, in SMOs. This continuous experience, which I will term the activist career, will be further explored in Chapter 8. It exemplifies the instrumental rationality involved in career choices, as well as the value-led rationality traditionally identified with social movement participation (Zald and Ash, 1966). This form of participation in an SMO is, therefore, driven by career-related motivations alongside social movement-related motivations – exemplifying the SMOs professionalisation level.

5.2.2 Family Background

The relations between family background and choice of occupation are complex (Leppel, Williams, and Waldauer, 2001; Jencks, 1972). Social movement studies suggest two salient ways in which parents can affect the chances of their children becoming activists: by maintaining a relatively political or religious household, and through belonging to the middle class. In this sub-section, I will look at these factors, measured through parents’ occupational background when the respondents were 16, which I have recoded into two different variables: one looking at the occupations themselves, trying to see if occupations that have a greater relation to care are particularly prevalent among SMO workers’ parents; and one enabling comparison of the parents’ social class, which will be discussed shortly. The correlation between parents’ occupation and the respondent’s occupation presented in this chapter is a statistical correlation rather than a factor determining the individual’s future. It is therefore a part of a multitude of considerations and effects which take part in career choices.

First, based on the literature highlighting the importance of a political household for activists (Downton and Wehr, 1997), I would like to examine the hypothesis that a large proportion of SMO workers’ parents have worked in an occupation relating to care, education, or politics. In my sample, 7% of fathers and 9.5% of mothers have worked in health and care, and 6.5% of fathers and 24.5% of mothers worked in

education.³⁰ While I do not have exact figures of parallel examinations in Israel, this does not suggest a particularly large proportion of parents who were working in professions which could be described as related to care. However, while recoding this variable I noted the number of parents whose occupation, regardless of the profession itself, was related to associations, voluntary organisations, or politics. There were a total of nine parents who had such occupations (4.5%), a group large enough to suggest that the parents' occupation indeed affects the likelihood of choosing to work in an SMO.

After looking at the distribution of parental occupations, I would like to address the hypothesis that those born to middle class families are more likely to work in SMOs, based on research showing this to be true for social movement activists more generally (e.g. Rootes, 1995). Traditionally, this relationship relies on the individual's own occupation that provides resources such as extra time and paid help (ibid). However, these resources can also be given by the workers' family. In Israel, like elsewhere, parental help (both financial and otherwise) does not stop when the child reaches adulthood. Rather, it continues throughout the lifetime (Lavee and Katz, 2003). I have therefore examined whether there is a statistically significant difference between the occupational background of SMO workers and of the general Israeli population. For reasons of comparison, the different occupations were categorised into *manual* (skilled, semi-skilled, unskilled, and farm worker) and *non-manual* (professional, technical, higher administrator, clerical, sales, and services). As I expected, there are significant differences between SMO workers and the general Israeli population: both fathers (77.2% compared to only 44.5%) and mothers (88.7% compared to 64.9%) of SMO workers tended to work in non-manual occupations when the respondents were growing up – a higher percentage than that of workers in the Israeli population³¹.

To conclude this section, my findings reaffirm those of social movement studies, emphasising the relevance of this body of research to my work. I have argued that the decision to become an SMO worker is related to the workers' biographical roots, in much the same way that belonging to social movements in general is related to

³⁰ The full distribution is presented in Table 2 in Appendix 4.

³¹ Cramer's V was 0.168 (sig: 0.000) for fathers and 0.164 (sig: 0.000) for mothers.

biographical factors. Although this is a discussion of biographical roots, it relies on statistical analysis and therefore does not apply to each and every individual, and indeed the paths themselves would be more complex and include multiple considerations if explored qualitatively. However, some factors appear to be an important and recurring part of these paths, and merit further research. These include growing up with parents who are more likely to work in occupations related to politics, attending higher education, and choice of area of study. While this section discussed milestones in the workers' past, career choices are on-going. Furthermore, workers' motivations are being re-shaped continuously through each of these stages in the workers' lives, as well as through their work itself.

5.3 Attributes

In order to explore the working conditions of SMO workers, I need to first examine their attributes. This will enable me to, first of all, characterise this population, and second, to take into account elements of difference between SMO workers and other workers, so that these elements can be statistically controlled for later in the analysis. This section examines SMO workers' age, nationality, gender, education, and general experience in the labour market (tenure in their current organisations will be examined in the following section). I show that while SMO workers' age and labour market experience are not considerably different to those of other workers in the Israeli labour market, they have a higher level of education, tend to be more likely to be students, and have a higher proportion of women and Palestinians. Furthermore, I examine the range and distribution of occupations of surveyed SMO workers.

When presenting figures of working conditions it is very difficult to assess the findings without the context of the Israeli labour market. For example, salary can only be perceived as low or high, in this specific context. I therefore compare the figures from my own survey to those of the general Israeli labour market. This is not to say that all the different sectors in this labour market are the same – but rather to enable me to assess the situation in the SMO sector. Where possible, I have added figures describing the Israeli third sector, which does allow me to examine where the researched SMOs are different from the third sector more generally. The significance tests I used in the comparison between the Israeli labour market and my sample of SMO workers are used

to assess the likelihood that, given a random sample, the differences are due to chance. It is therefore important to note that this analysis assumes that the sampling was indeed random, although due to the existence of non-response this cannot be guaranteed. Specifically, it is possible that my sample has a higher level of education than the general population of workers in Israeli peace SMOs.

The level of education for SMO workers is notably higher than that of other workers. While less than 4 in 10 (38.2%) of Israeli workers in general have a bachelor's degree or higher academic certificate, more than three quarters (75.9%) of SMO workers have completed this level of education. This difference stands out even more when it comes to a master's degree or higher certificate. The percentage of SMO workers with this level of education (39.7%) is more than double that of the general labour market's percentage (14.3%). The real difference in qualifications is even higher, as the percentage of students who are expected to finish a degree in the next few years is more than double among SMO workers (35.5%) than among workers in the Israeli labour market (13%).³² In 2008, 20% of all the workers in the Israeli third sector had a master's degree or higher, and 44% had a bachelor's degree or higher (Katz and Yogev-Keren, 2013). Therefore, third-sector workers' educational levels seem higher than those of the general labour market – but SMO workers' educational levels are substantially higher than both groups, placing them as unique in this respect. Previous research shows that more educated individuals have a higher tendency to respond to surveys (Baruch, 1999). Yet, the difference between the education levels of third sector workers and SMO workers is substantial, and so even if some of it is caused by over-sampling of individuals with higher education, at least some of the difference is still likely to exist.

One explanation for the high proportion of workers with higher education, suggested by an interviewee, is that this proportion reflects the selection process in organisations, which is driven by the SMOs' need to enhance their legitimacy. Based on her own experiences of job-searching in the SMO sector, this interviewee describes having a degree as a pre-condition for many SMO jobs:

³² The full distribution is presented in Table 2 in Appendix 4.

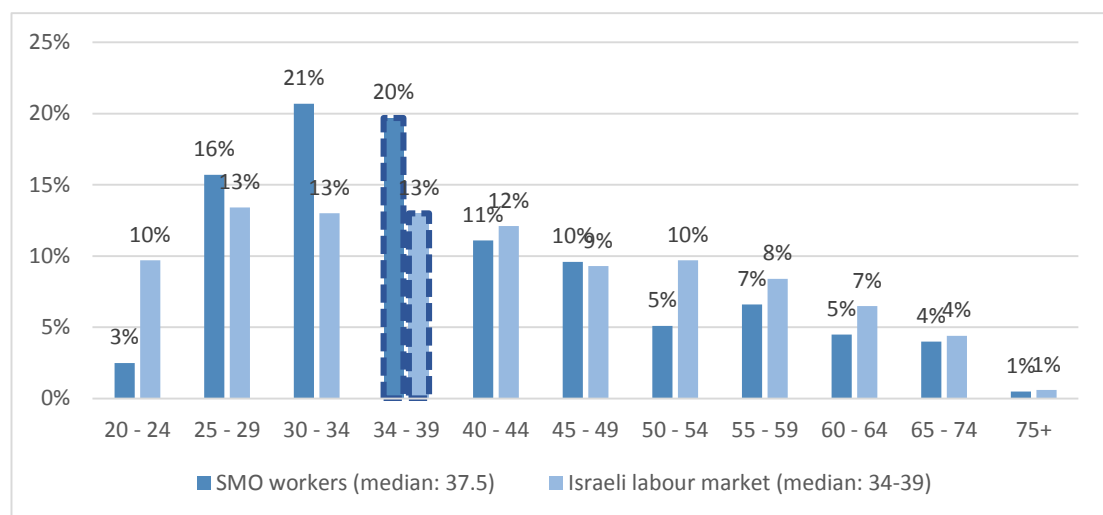
These are the conditions. If I want to apply for a position in an SMO I have to have a degree. They don't care what it is in but it's important that you have a degree. [...] They may hire you as a freelancer or an instructor (without a degree – M.K.E.) but as a worker – no. [...] this is the frame of mind in society, that if you have a degree, you have more privilege to say things, to change things. [...] if now a spokesperson is needed to come and talk about social change, they will look for a doctor in the university, they won't look for a social activist. To be a social activist doesn't add anything to your value as a person. [...] This is particularly true for the Palestinian associations in '48 (the territories occupied in the 1948 war – M.K.E.) [...] and they will even take someone with no experience.

This interviewee ties the educational level to the question of legitimacy of SMOs. According to her analysis and based on her experiences, educational degrees play an important role in hiring decisions in the researched SMOs due to the SMOs' need to increase their legitimacy. This is because representing the SMO and the peace movement in front of the public, or the media, is such an important aspect of peace SMOs' work, and because a higher degree almost automatically raises the speaker's legitimacy to make various claims. She emphasises that this basis for selecting job candidates is not based on the actual information acquired in the course of completing degree, as the subject of study does not matter – only the level of the degree does. In fact, having a degree is so important that it could lead to hiring with no experience, while activism and SMO work experience is, according to the interviewee, discarded as almost irrelevant. While the exploration of SMOs' hiring practices is beyond the scope of this research, the role of a hierarchical perception of these different kinds of knowledge – experience-based and academically-acquired – is a valuable topic for future research.

Figures 5.1 and 5.2 show the distribution of SMO and Israeli workers across age and labour market experience. These two factors are highly correlated, as the older a worker is, the more years he or she has had to work and accumulate labour market experience. Years or experience are considered to be an asset to the workplace – they contribute to the worker's knowledge and skills and thus lead to better quality and work efficiency (Willis, 1986; Borjas, 1981; Lazear, 1979). Workers' age, however, usually has a non-linear effect on workers' desirability for employers: workers' desirability increases until they reach a certain point, and then decreases again, so that very young and very old workers are less desirable. In figure 5.1 we can see that SMO workers tend to be

younger than other workers. 69.7% of SMO workers were 44 or younger, compared to 61.2% in the general labour market. This is compatible with other third-sector workers. Although I do not have access to a dataset with specific information on these workers, published information based on such data from 2009 is available. Looking at the third sector in Israel in 2009, Katz and Yogev-Keren (2013) found the third sector labour market to be younger – 68% of the workers were between the ages 15-44. As shown previously – SMO workers also tend to be more highly educated – which could explain the tendency to employ younger workers, as they tend to have higher educational attainments (Smith, 1997).

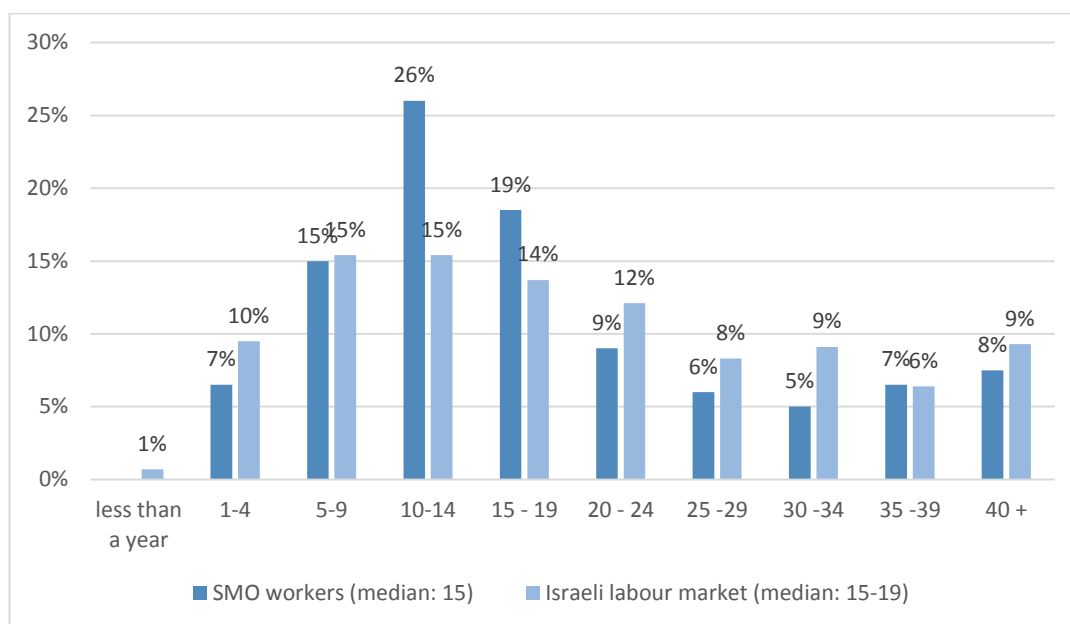
Figure 5.1: age groups in SMOs and in Israel (Cramer's V: 0.003, sig: 0.00)



Total SMO workers: 198. Total Israeli labour market: 4,640 (unweighted), 3,240,953 (weighted)

Source for the Israeli labour market: Social Survey 2012.

Figure 5.2: Years in labour market among the Israeli labour market and SMO workers
(Cramer's V: 0.003, sig: 0.001)



Total SMO workers: 200. Total Israeli labour market: 4,640 (unweighted), 3,240,952 (weighted)

Source for the Israeli labour market: Social Survey 2012.

In Figure 5.2 one can see that SMO workers tend to have working experience closer to the mean of 15: 44.5% of SMO workers have worked between 10 and 19 years in the labour market. This can be compared with the Israeli labour market, where only 29.1% fall in this category. Despite the significant difference between the groups, SMO workers' median years in the labour market falls within the general labour market's median category, which suggests that the difference is in the variance rather than in the central values.

As part of this examination of SMO workers' characteristics, I explored the gender and nationality of SMO workers compared to those of workers in the Israeli labour market. Chapter 6 discusses the gaps in working conditions between these groups, but as these variables are used as intervening variables in my analysis of working conditions, it is important to present their distribution at this point. I compared the percentage of women and Palestinians in Israeli society (from age 20), in the Israeli labour market, and among SMO workers. While Palestinians are under-represented in the Israeli labour market (compared to their part of the population), both Palestinians and women

are over-represented as SMO workers.³³ In the third sector as a whole, women are over-represented (68% of the workers in 2009, which is very similar to SMO workers), while Palestinians are under-represented, with 89% Jews in the third sector in 2009 (Katz and Yogev-Keren, 2013) compared to just under 70% in the researched SMOs.

Finally, I examine the occupations prevalent in SMOs, including the different occupations that were mentioned in response to the open question about the respondent's occupation in my survey. The most prevalent positions are the lower managerial positions: unit manager (24.5%) and coordinator (15.5%), followed by teaching and instructing positions (11.5%), administration (7.5%), higher management (6%), funding mobilisation (6%), and other positions. This range of positions reflects the wide range of organisations participating in this research. The three leading occupations emphasise the hierarchical nature of these organisations, which will be discussed further in Chapter 6. I have compared the percentages of SMO workers in the categories available in the Social Survey, with the same percentages of the general labour market.

Unsurprisingly, given the distribution of positions in SMOs and the work areas of the SMOs themselves as described in Chapter 2, SMO workers work mainly in two categories: associate professionals and technicians, and managers. A smaller number of them work in academic and clerical occupations. This is similar to the third sector in 2008³⁴ (although the analysis is not entirely comparable, a general description could be achieved): The leading occupations in the third sector were teachers and workers in education (39%), followed by clerical workers (9.5%), social science and humanities academics (8.4%), and managers (6.4%). The Israeli labour market spreads more widely across the different occupation types, led by academic professionals, associate professionals and technicians, clerical workers, and agents, sales workers and service workers.³⁵ The difference between the groups is one of the aspects in which work in SMOs is different from work in other positions, and could be one of the factors influencing working conditions. The differences in occupations could partially explain the high levels of educational attainment in SMOs. However, since the occupations of

³³ These distributions are presented in Table 3 in Appendix 4.

³⁴ The data in this report is taken from a range of years between 2008 and 2010.

³⁵ The full distribution is presented in Table 4 in Appendix 4.

third sector workers are quite similar to those of SMO workers, and yet SMO workers have substantially higher education levels, it seems that for a full explanation for these educational levels, one would need to turn to further research on the recruitment procedures and preferences in SMOs, as previously suggested.

To conclude this section, based on my sample, it is clear that SMO workers are a substantially different population compared to the Israeli labour market in general, and exhibit some differences from third sector workers in Israel. They are more educated, and a larger proportion of them come from marginalised groups (women and Palestinians). They also occupy specific professions to different proportions than those of the Israeli labour market. These characteristics are not surprising, given the main goals and modes of operation of these organisations. However, this is the first time this population has been surveyed and so these findings are formally revealed for the first time. Furthermore, these variables will be used to statistically control the working conditions in the following sections of this chapter, as well as in Chapter 6 and Chapter 7 of this thesis.

5.4 Working Conditions

What are the prevalent working conditions in Israeli SMOs? Are they similar to those of the Israeli labour market, or are there any unique traits to these organisations? This section will examine these questions, while considering the respondents' educational attainments, which were shown to be substantially different from those of the Israeli labour market. I will first explore the working hours and tenure, followed by an examination of salary and other forms of compensation.

I have compared the distribution of working hours among SMO workers and general Israeli workers. As the values in the Social Survey are banded, it would not be appropriate to discuss the mean number of working hours. However, the median is 40 hours for SMO workers, and 35-42 hours for the Israeli labour market. Given the similarity in the median, it is interesting to note that while 80.3% of Israeli workers are working full-time (35 hours or more), only 54.5% of SMO workers belong to this category.³⁶ This is due to the large proportion of part-time contracts in the SMOs. This

³⁶ The full distribution is presented in Table 5 in Appendix 4.

correlation between working in an SMO and having a higher chance of working part-time could stem from a number of different reasons. My hypothesis is that this is a structural feature of these organisations, resulting from two possible sources: (1) the nature of work in SMOs, which is very project-oriented and requires workers to volunteer their time beyond the paid working hours; and (2) the SMOs' funding, which is often project-based, encouraging spending money on salaries in a way that is often very specific and limited. Another option would be that part-time positions follow the wishes of workers themselves, who may have other obligations such as childcare (particularly given the high proportion of women) or studies (given the high proportion of students).

To support my hypothesis regarding the structure of SMO work and funding affecting the proportion of part-time positions, I first need to show that there is a causal relationship between working in SMOs and working part-time. To do so, I first examine the direction of causality. It does seem plausible that workers choose their workplace before determining their working hours. However, this could be the other way around – perhaps workers prefer to work in a part-time appointment, and so they choose to work in an SMO. I cannot directly test which of these decisions happened first with the data I have, but I can compare SMO workers' work preferences with the appointments they hold. If workers chose to work in an SMO because of their preference for a part-time appointment, we would find that those with part-time appointments are the same workers who prefer these appointments. Table 5.1 shows workers' preferences compared to their actual appointments. The grey cells are the ones marking those whose preference matched the type of appointment they hold. Although most workers in SMOs hold appointments that match their preference, this match becomes lower for those who work fewer hours. In other words, this table does not support the assumption that workers preferred to work in part-time appointments and thus chose appropriate organisations, since workers in appointments with fewer hours tend to be less likely to work in their preferred appointment. It still is possible that there is a higher percentage of those who prefer part-time appointments in SMOs. However, this does not seem to fully explain the high proportion of part-time appointments.

Table 5.1: Preferred versus existing appointment

<i>Appointment percentage</i>	<i>Preferred appointment</i>		
	Full- time	Part-time	Less than 10 hours a week
Less than 10 hours a week	3.9%	16.9%	75.0%
Part-time	17.6%	50.6%	25.0%
Full-time	78.4%	32.5%	
Total	108	63	28

Table 5.1 helps answer the causality question, but it does not offer reasons for the workers' dissatisfaction. To gain more insight on these reasons and offer a fuller interpretation, I discussed this finding with interview and workshop participants. In reaction to the presentation of this table in an interview, an interviewee tried to shed light on these reasons, by describing the experience of working in part-time positions in SMOs:

Choosing [to work part-time]... Not always. This is the option they have. Between full-time and... [...] In full-time you know what is expected of you and you work, you have a certain structure, and you know what... How much you're going to work, and even if you work more, there are still limits for it, and sometimes, for example I work on weekends when there's a certain urgency but on other weekends I don't work – it's not routine. [...] others may start from work that is for a small number of hours, in the goal of getting a part-time job after that, and a full-time position after that. Or they may have chosen this if they are students or if they work in another place and they don't need this job to sustain themselves.

This interviewee identifies three reasons for working in a part-time position: (1) not having any other choice; (2) the hope that this position would later become a full-time position; and (3) a choice of this position to suit other activities the worker may have. In other words, he suggests that if a worker does prefer to work in a part-time position, it could be because a third variable is intervening here: other activities. Mapping this range of possible reasons is instrumental in examining their likelihood using my survey data.

After looking at the direction of causality, the next step to show causality is to eliminate the possible influence of confounding factors. If there is a third variable that affects both working in SMOs and choosing a part-time appointment, then the relationship between working in SMOs and the proportion of part-time appointments would be spurious rather than causal. Based on the analysis presented in the previous section of this chapter and on previous literature, the two variables that might intervene in the relationship between work in SMOs and part-time appointments are the proportion of students and the proportion of women. The previous section showed that these two groups are over-represented in SMOs compared to the Israeli labour market. I examined the relationship between gender and a part-time positions among SMO workers, and the same relationship between working part-time and students. I found no significant relationship between gender and working hours (Cramer's v : 0.126, sig: 0.203). However, there is a marginally significant relationship between being a student and working hours (Cramer's V : 0.238, sig: 0.084). Due to the small sample size I have decided to use the variable "Student" to control for the relationship between working hours and being an SMO worker: I calculated the relationship between the latter two variables separately for students and non-students. There was a significant relationship within each of these categories (Cramer's v for non-students: 0.005, sig: 0.000, Cramer's V for students: 0.009. Sig: 0.000), which means that there is a basis to the claim that SMOs offer less full-time positions to their workers.³⁷

To further examine my hypothesis regarding the part-time positions in SMOs, I have examined both the percentage and amount of over-time, and the percentage and amount of unpaid over-time. 64% of SMO workers (128 workers) work over-time, with a mean of 7.76 hours. 82% of the workers who work over-time are never or mostly not paid for it, while only 14.1% are paid for all their over-time work. My argument that SMO workers are expected to work beyond their paid hours is further supported by the participants in the interviews and workshops. In a workshop, a senior SMO manager claimed that "SMO workers have a tendency to work more than the time they were allocated, without notifying the organisation." She explained that this creates budget problems for the organisations. A few other participants disagreed, saying that

³⁷ The full contingency tables are presented in Table 6 and Table 7 in Appendix 4.

the workers receive more work than they can realistically perform in the hours they are given. Though they disagreed on the reason for the situation, there was a general agreement with the description of high prevalence of over-time in SMOs. I therefore conclude that part-time employment and over-time work are systematic issues with regard to SMO working conditions. It is likely that these also exist in other industries, such as in academia or hi-tech. Although the expectations and incentives are different between these sectors and SMOs, it is important to remember that value-led rationality and ideological considerations do exist beyond the SMO sector. In this sense, professionalisation processes create an SMO sector with employment practices that may well exist in other sectors as well.

As explained in the introduction to this chapter, and based on the description of work in voluntary organisations in Chapter 3, SMO workers can be conceptualised as being in-between workers and volunteers. I have shown that this is reflected in working hours. Next, I examine the issue of temporary employment, which relates to the position of SMO work within the worker's career. I aim to critically explore the issue of employment security, which is decreased with frequent moves between work places (Standing, 2011). From this perspective, SMO workers could be seen as sacrificing their level of security since they understand the difficulties the SMOs face given the often unpredictable nature of funding. This perspective of careers also suggests an examination of the prevalence of protean careers (Arthur et al., 2005; Hall, 2004; Arthur and Rousseau, 1996) in SMOs. Therefore, another hypothesis I decided to explore in relation to the working conditions in SMOs concerns temporary employment. An examination of tenure among SMO workers, and that of workers in the Israeli labour market, shows that SMO workers tend to have worked in their current workplace for a significantly shorter time than other workers. For example, the proportion of SMO workers who have worked for less than a year (28%) is double that of workers in the Israeli labour market (14%). Since tenure can be affected by the worker's educational level, I have looked at these proportions in each of the two largest educational groups among SMO workers: holders of BA, and holders of MA and above (other groups were too small to test this). Since the relationship remains significant within each of these groups, we can conclude that the relationship between tenure and

employment in an SMO is not caused by education.³⁸ However, in this respect, SMO workers are not unique in comparison to the third sector in Israel. In the third sector, 33% of workers have worked less than a year (compared to 28% in SMOs), 28% have a tenure of 1-2 years, 14% have worked in the same place for 3-5 years, and only 25% have tenure of over 6 years (Katz and Yogev-Keren, 2013).

Finally, a key aspect of working conditions is the payment workers receive. Here, I hypothesise that SMO workers will have lower salaries compared to others. As with the examination of work hours and tenure, my hypothesis regarding salary is based on the literature on employment in civil society organisations (Almond and Kendall, 2000), as well as on the conceptualisation of SMO workers as in-between workers and volunteers. I begin this examination by comparing SMO workers' salary with that of other workers. I first compared the salary levels in SMOs and in the Israeli labour market as a whole. As the categories are different, I cannot apply a chi-square test to test the significance of the difference between the groups. However, the median categories are overlapping – 5,500-7,000 NIS (about £11,000-£14,000 per annum) for SMO workers and 6,000-7,500 (about £12,000-£15,000 per annum) for other workers. I therefore cannot claim that the salary is different between the SMO workers and other workers. However, as seen in section 5.2, SMO workers differ from other workers in their level of education, as well as in their gender and nationality composition. I explore gender and nationality in Section 5.4, but address the educational qualifications at this point, as education is known in the literature to be an important factor for employment and earnings (Bousquet and Nelson, 2008; Martins and Pereira, 2004). Since SMO workers tend to be more highly educated than workers in the Israeli labour market, receiving the same salary could mean receiving lower salary for their educational attainments. I therefore reproduced the comparison of salary levels from both groups, only for those with an academic degree (which are the vast majority of SMO workers). Looking exclusively at workers with academic degrees raises the median category for both groups, but the median is raised higher in the Israeli labour market (10,000 – 14,000 NIS, about £20,000-£28,000 per annum) than in SMOs (7,000-10,000 NIS, about £14,000-£20,000 per annum).³⁹ This finding provides

³⁸ The full comparisons are presented in Table 8, Appendix 4.

³⁹ The full comparisons are presented in Table 9 and Table 10 in Appendix 4.

further support to my hypothesis that SMO workers will receive less compensation for their work – whether because of their unique position between working and volunteering, or because they lack other options.

As previously discussed, SMO workers tend to work fewer hours than other workers. Could this be the reason for the difference in the payment level? I repeated the salary comparison between SMO workers and Israeli workers separately for those who work part-time (up to 34 hours) and full-time (over 35 hours). This analysis does not support the hypothesis that the high proportion of part-time positions is responsible for the difference in payment for SMO workers with equivalent educational qualifications, as workers are placed in overlapping payment categories in both the full-time and part-time category.⁴⁰ It is important to note that other factors could affect the difference between salaries in SMOs and in the Israeli labour market too, but I chose to only use the four aspects in which SMO workers are substantially different from others: gender, nationality, education, and working hours. Unfortunately, I cannot produce a regression examining this relationship while controlling for multiple variables, due to the difference in the structure of the two samples, as described above. However, the data I have does allow me to confidently say that the payment SMO workers receive is lower than that received by other workers, when controlling for educational attainments.

In addition to the examination of salary in SMOs compared to that of other Israeli workers, I shall offer at this point a preliminary multivariate and multilevel exploration of the main individual level variables affecting salary levels within SMOs, using all the variables mentioned so far. To do this, I use the multilevel framework to control for the interdependence of the different observations, which violates the independent observations assumption required for a regression. Since fitting an ordinal regression within a multilevel framework for such a small sample would not yield a very reliable estimation, I have divided the salary into two categories: 0-7,000 and above 7,000, to create the dependent variable for this logistic regression model. The independent variables are age (and age squared), working years in general, years of tenure in the specific organisation, years of education, weekly work hours, and two dummy

⁴⁰ This analysis is presented in Table 11 in Appendix 4.

variables representing BA, and MA and above (the reference category is education up to and including matriculation level, as well as non-academic diplomas). I have also included random effects of the organisations themselves, so that the relative homogeneity within each organisation will not underestimate the error terms.

Table 5.2 shows the results of this multilevel logistic regression. For ease of interpretation, I have measured the t-score results using a z-score table to create approximate significance measures, as suggested in the MLwiN⁴¹ manual (Rasbash et al., 2012: 152). These significance levels will be used throughout the thesis. The first variable, age, is a control variable for the effect of labour market experience. Literature shows that there is a curvilinear relationship between age and salary. Both the very young and the very old receive lower salaries than those in mid-ages (Hedström and Ringen, 1987). In my model, age, by itself, is insignificant ($p=0.463$), however age squared is significant and negative ($\exp(b)= 0.996$, $p=0.023$), suggesting a curve in which the highest salary would be in the centre, and where salary would be lower for the very young and the very old. The effect of years in the labour market is insignificant, despite my expectation that once age is controlled for, labour market experience will have a positive effect on salary ($p=0.428$).

As salary is normally determined by working hours, I expect the effect of working hours to be positive. Indeed, weekly working hours are positively and significantly correlated with the odds of belonging to the top salary category rather than to the bottom: every weekly work hour increases these odds of belonging to the higher salary level compared to the odds of belonging to the lower one by 9.7% ($p=0.000$). Tenure in the workplace is also hypothesised to have a positive effect on salary. As shown in the model, tenure is a significant predictor of belonging to the higher salary category. Every year of tenure increases these odds by 9.5% ($p=0.026$).

Given previous literature (Bousquet and Nelson, 2008; Martins and Pereira, 2004), I would expect educational levels to have a positive effect on salary. Having a BA had a negative but insignificant effect, and having an MA had a significant and positive effect. When all other conditions are equal, the odds of belonging to the higher salary

⁴¹ The software used to run the multilevel models.

level will be 4.083 times higher than those with no academic qualifications ($p=0.008$). This regression model, and the following regression which will be presented in this thesis, emphasise this importance of higher education, and in particular the importance of a master's degree. This consistent finding should be understood in the context of the higher education system in Israel, which quadrupled the amount of higher education institutions and more than tripled in size over the 1990s (Ayalon and Yogev, 2005). This expansion has created an inflation in the rate of degree holders, decreasing the relative advantage of BA holders (Shavit et al., 2007) and therefore making the MA the important educational threshold.

The intercept for this model is 0.014, which means that those with a mean age, zero work years, zero work hours, no tenure, and no academic education would have odds of 0.014 of belonging to the higher salary category rather than to the lower one. This is a hypothetical situation, and so this intercept is only useful when trying to predict odds for a specific case, as is done with the following multilevel logistic models presented in this chapter. Using the Wald statistics to test for the model significance, I used MLwiN to produce a chi square of 3.490 with one degree of freedom, which translates into a significance of 0.05, making the model significant at the 95% level. This model also presents the variance in the organisational level, which is significant ($p=0.043$). This variance is important as a means to control for the dependency between different workers in the same organisation, but it is not necessary for the understanding of the model or using it for prediction, and it will be discussed in depth in Chapter 6.

Table 5.2 Multilevel logistic regression predicting salary levels with age, work years, work hours, tenure, and education

	Log- odds	Odds/odds ratios	Standard error	Significance
Age centred	-0.006	0.994	0.064	0.463
Age squared	-0.004	0.996	0.002	0.023
Work years	0.012	1.012	0.066	0.428
Work hours	0.093	1.097	0.017	0.000

Tenure	0.091	1.095	0.047	0.026
<i>Education</i>				
BA	-0.244	0.783	0.555	0.670
MA	1.407	4.083	0.58	0.008
Intercept	-4.25	0.014	1.459	0.998
Organisational level variance	1.051	2.860	0.613	0.043
N	151			
Wald statistics	3.842			0.050

This section has reviewed the working conditions in SMOs and compared them to the Israeli labour market. It showed that SMO workers work fewer hours, stay in the workplace for less time, and tend to be paid less than others. I have also introduced a causal model of factors affecting payment levels, which are further developed in the next two sections. These variables are used in the following section, which looks at forms of employment in SMOs and compares monthly paid workers to freelancers.

5.5 Who Counts as a Worker?

So far I have treated the SMO workers as one group, although differing in working conditions and characteristics. However, as I was collecting the data for this thesis I have come to learn that not all workers are treated by the same standards. Particularly, I saw one group of workers being treated as non-workers: the freelancers. This group of workers, has various occupations, working hours, educational attainments, and other characteristics (as is shown later in this section). It was not considered when discussing working conditions, and not even when discussing the very basic definitions, such as the number of workers in an organisation. This section explores the characteristics and working conditions of this group compared to monthly paid workers.

Freelancers in Israel are, by definition, similar to freelancers in the UK. In reality, however, these are very different situations. There are no zero hour contracts in Israel,

so when an organisation wishes to employ workers with no guarantees on the term of employment and number of hours, these positions would involve recruiting freelancers. This form of employment saves the organisation money that would otherwise be spent on benefits, such as health insurance and pension. The freelancers as experts who choose to only work for multiple organisations as it suits their lives or maximises their income do exist in Israel, but this would not be the most common situation. Freelancers often refer to themselves as “an employee without a payslip,” where payslips carry with them a set of workers’ rights these workers do not receive.

When conducting the survey, I used the same way of asking for information from all organisations: Before starting to interview workers, I asked each organisation to tell me how many workers they employed. I asked for information about all their workers, specifically stating that this should include workers who have worked there for a short time or in a part-time position. Each of the researched organisations gave me a number of workers, which formed a part of the data collection for that organisation. Later, when collecting data on the individual worker’s level, I asked respondents how many workers they are responsible for. In this stage, I sometimes found that the number I was given did not include all the workers, and in particular freelancers were excluded from the count. I have discussed the methodological aspects of this in Chapter 4, and this section offers a more substantive examination of these workers.

Freelancers are legally defined as self-employed, producing invoices to get paid rather than receiving a payslip. While Israeli employers are legally obligated to pay into a pension plan, provide holidays, and generally be responsible for the welfare of their workers, freelancers are not included in these arrangements. However, it would be wrong to simply categorise them as self-employed, as they often work for one or two organisations, and have similar work tasks and duty to report to employer as any other worker. Their hours and job are determined by the organisation, and the independent status that comes with being self-employed does not apply to them. In many respects, they are the representation of the precariat (Standing, 2011) in this context. This is even more apparent when considering the fact that Israel does not have zero-hour contracts, so freelance employment allows for employment without commitments to the worker. Following Standing’s (ibid) conceptualisation of the precariat as lacking labour market-

related security on several different levels, there are two key aspects on which security of freelancers is damaged (or nearly non-existent): (1) employment security – these workers are not protected from arbitrary dismissal without a need for the organisation to provide any reason, simply because they have no contract and so their work may not be required at any point in time; and (2) income security – as their subsistence, in the present as well as in the future, is not guaranteed by any means, and even if the SMO still requires their work, the level of payment may drastically change from month to month.

Freelancers are not a minor or negligible issue in SMO employment. I examined the different methods of employment in the researched SMOs, including monthly paid workers, hourly paid workers, workers for scholarship, and freelancers. The biggest groups are monthly paid workers (81%) and freelancers (12%). The other groups are interesting to explore as well. Workers who receive hourly payment (3.5%) have less security regarding their monthly salary, and those employed for a scholarship (2.5%) are employed by another organisation and are often earning less than the minimum wage. However, these groups are too small for a statistical investigation in this thesis.

Freelance employment is a consequence and an expression of labour market flexibilisation, as it weakens the ties between the worker and the work place, and makes changing employees as well as employers easier. It therefore encourages career paths in which changing workplaces happens frequently (Storey et al., 2005). As discussed in Chapter 3, the consequences of such flexibilisation could be seen as negative as well as positive. The lack of security, as mentioned above, could negatively impact the workers. The workshops and interviews I conducted painted a picture of general agreement on the unfairness of employment for freelancers, although the causes for it were not agreed on. In one of the workshops I conducted, the issue of freelancers was discussed passionately. Freelancers were presented as “less of a headache” for the employing SMOs. One participant stated that, for her, “Freelance work is like prostitution – instead of being employed by the organisation they just sell their wares.” Other participants reacted with nods and a murmur of agreement.

There is, however, another side to labour market flexibility, which sees flexible employment as allowing employers as well as employees more freedom (Hakim,

2000). Specifically, it is claimed that workers with a flexible career can follow their intrinsic interests, rather than fit themselves to the organisation's demands (Arthur and Rousseau, 1996). This was exemplified during the discussion in one of the workshops. One participant, despite previously agreeing with the unfairness of this method of employment, shared her positive experience of working as a freelancer. She said it was fantastic for her, as she earned a high amount for each lecture and had a chance to give many lectures. Although this could be understood as a claim supporting freelance employment, in the context of the conversation it was understood as claiming it is only suitable for workers who can claim high payment from organisations. This interpretation is also supported by the literature, which claims flexible employment is particularly harmful to vulnerable social groups (Blank, 1998; Kellberg, 2009, 2011). The level of responsibility for freelance payment level and the possibility of negotiating one's payment was disagreed upon in one workshop. Another participant, with many years of experience in several different organisations, claimed that freelancers should demand a suitable price. Others, however, answered that the payment is often pre-determined and not open to negotiation.

When discussing the issue of payment to freelancers, the participants have contributed another important element in freelance employment I have not included in the survey – the fact that freelancers need to be paid more than other workers to receive the same amount of money, because they have additional expenditures such as insurance and pension. This was well described by one of the interviewees. She describes two situations in which she was able to affect the organisational decision, and she took the issue of additional payments into consideration:

When I, as part of the steering team, we chose the... Another secretary, who was before me in [organisation], we said we will pay her 1,000 NIS after deductions. Then I, from my personal knowledge, I said listen: with national insurance, and pension, and I don't know what else, this and that, out of the 1,000 it's 250 NIS. I'm not willing to not pay her 1,250 NIS. They all very happily agreed. And then I gave that cheque for months to that secretary, knowing... I told her: You decide what to do with that money, but we at least are fair. We gave you the difference to 1,250, so you will be fine and we will be fine, in our general feeling. It's the same with this guy now [...] but maybe this is my personal view, because [manager] for example didn't think about it.

As described by the interviewee, freelancers in effect take upon themselves a set of additional payments, which would be automatically paid by the employer in other types of employment. These include the important component of a pension or a similar savings programme, which would extend the workers' security beyond the years in which they are able to work, and for the rest of their lives. In some cases these additional payments may be considered by the employer, however as is seen later in this section, freelancers still receive lower payment than other workers. For this reason, when freelancers and monthly paid workers receive the same salary, the freelancers actually receive less, as the additional payments made by the employer in case of a monthly paid worker are absent. This consideration is relevant when discussing freelancers' payment levels later in this section.

A workshop participant, who also holds a managerial position, claimed that the reasons for the wide use of freelance employment lie in the realm of policy, and in particular in moves towards privatisation in Israel. This comment and the discussion about payment to freelancers point to a disagreement as to the responsibility for and the causes of unfair freelance employment: the workers who do not demand enough, the organisations exploiting their workers, or a wider situation. Most participants agreed that the organisations are at least partly responsible, while few viewed the workers themselves as responsible. These views were divided between workers and volunteers of the different positions who participated in the research, rather than being related to specific positions.

Apart from the inherent difference between freelance employment and monthly pay, are these groups employed differently? Do they receive different returns for their work? To answer these questions, one first needs to examine who these workers are. For both groups, I compared the main demographic characteristics: gender, age, nationality, and educational level. Freelancers and monthly employed workers are not significantly different on any of these variables. They have markedly similar proportions of nationality, gender, educational level, and mean age.⁴²

⁴² Full comparisons are presented in Table 12 in Appendix 4.

Following the comparison of demographic attributes, I examined mean working hours, tenure, and mean years in the labour market for the two groups. While workers' experience in the labour market is not significantly different, tenure and working hours are significantly different between the groups.⁴³ This means that the variables which mark the personal attributes of workers or the qualities workers bring with them to the workplace, namely experience and education, are not different between the groups. However, the working conditions for freelancers and monthly paid workers are significantly different. Freelancers have lower tenure – 3.3 years on average compared to 6.0 among monthly paid workers, and significantly lower working hours – 13.2 weekly hours among freelancers compared to 38.6 among the monthly paid workers.

Furthermore, I have compared the payment level between freelancers and monthly-paid workers. Payment levels are significantly different between the two groups. While only 1.9% of those paid monthly are paid less than 1500 NIS a month, 37.5% of freelancers are paid in this range. Furthermore, while 19.1% of monthly workers are being paid over 10000 NIS per month, only 4.2% of freelancers are paid these amounts. Using the data I have, I cannot produce a clear hourly rate. However, the regression model in table 5.3 controls for the number of hours worked to take this into account. There is also a considerable difference between the groups' medians: the median level of payment for freelancers is between 1500 and 2500 NIS per month, while the median for monthly paid workers is between 7000 and 10000 NIS per month.⁴⁴ As the payment is directly affected by the number of working hours, I have produced this comparison again, for those who work part-time and full-time separately. As only two freelancers work full-time, I will not analyse the second part of this table. Still, among those who only work part-time, the significant difference between the groups remains, and monthly-paid workers earn significantly more than freelancers. However, even within the part-time workers, freelancers work substantially fewer hours: a mean of 11.3 weekly hours compared to a mean of 22.7 weekly hours for part-time workers who are not freelancers. This is therefore a reflection of the overall working conditions and lack of income security (Standing, 2011), rather than an exact analysis of payment per hour, which is not possible with the salary variable I use. Table 5.3, which is discussed later

⁴³ Full comparisons are presented in Table 13 in Appendix 4.

⁴⁴ This comparison is presented in Table 14 in Appendix 4.

in this section, controls for hours in a multivariate and multilevel regression, to examine if freelancers indeed receive lower payment than others when considering their hours and other characteristics.

One possible explanation for the difference between freelancers and monthly paid workers is that freelancers are doing other activities, such as being students, or workers in additional organisations. I compared the proportions of students and of those with a second job across freelancers and monthly paid workers. While there is no significant difference between the percentage of students in these two groups, there is a significant difference in the percentages of those who work in other capacities. While most of the monthly paid workers (63%) have no other job, all freelancers have additional jobs, whether as employees or as self-employed.⁴⁵ This finding could be seen as the reason for working in a freelance capacity, or as a result of it. The participants in the workshops and interviews I held support the hypothesis, made by myself and the literature (Blank, 1998; Kellberg, 2009, 2011), that freelance employment is limited by the employer, and therefore would force the workers to look for another job. However, a minority of participants also suggested that this is a choice that could enable these workers to earn more money while they use their special talents, such as particular skills, to work in different places at the same time. This suggestion is also supported by the literature (Arthur and Rousseau, 1996), as discussed in this section and in Chapter 3. Despite freelancers holding other positions at the same time, their level of payment suggests that, for the group as a whole, freelance is not a positive choice but rather a reality dictated by the employing SMO. As 37.5% of freelancers are being paid less than 1,500 NIS per month (approximately £3,000 per annum), even several such positions together would not produce a high income.

Finally, I have fitted a model that brings together all the variables discussed in this chapter as correlated with pay levels in SMOs. It includes the variables previously considered in the multilevel models, as well as dummy variables for alternative occupational arrangement (reference category: workers with monthly income), student (reference category: not a student), and another job (reference category: no other job). It also includes gender and nationality, since as the following chapter will show, they

⁴⁵ Full comparison is presented in Table 15 in Appendix 4.

are important predictors of working conditions. Finally, the model includes interaction terms for gender, nationality, and educational level, to allow for variation across the different groups. These variables are all included to make sure that the effect of employment arrangement is not explained by individual characteristics, which would make it a mediating variable rather than an independent one. Table 5.3, therefore, enables me to look at the causal relations between alternative employment arrangements and salary, and to test whether they remain significant after controlling for worker's demographic attributes (age, gender, nationality), the "human capital" components (experience in the labour market, education), working characteristics (working hours, tenure) and other activity (student, another job).

Table 5.3: Multilevel logistic regression predicting salary levels with type of employment

	Log-odds	Odds/odds ratios	Standard error	Significance
Age centred	-0.054	0.947	0.088	0.270
Age squared	-0.006	0.994	0.002	0.001
Work years	0.044	1.045	0.087	0.307
Work hours	0.109	1.115	0.028	0.000
Tenure	0.161	1.175	0.068	0.009
<i>Education</i>				
BA	-1.888	0.151	1.195	0.057
MA	1.993	7.337	1.747	0.127
Gender (Man=1)	-3.922	0.020	1.699	0.010
<i>Interactions with gender</i>				
BA	2.753	15.689	1.985	0.083
MA	4.754	116.048	2.07	0.011
Nationality (Jewish=1)	-1.246	0.287	1.227	0.155

<i>Interactions with nationality</i>				
Gender (Man=1)	1.074	2.927	1.57	0.247
BA	1.679	5.360	1.444	0.122
MA	-1.342	0.261	1.774	0.225
Alternative employment arrangement	-0.169	0.844	0.967	0.431
Student	0.529	1.697	2.836	0.426
<i>Other job</i>				
Employee	2.45	11.588	2.903	0.199
Self-employed	0.426	1.531	2.842	0.440
Intercept	-4.086	0.017	2.22	0.967
Organisational level variance	2.002	7.404	1.072	0.031
N	151			
Wald statistics	3.49			0.060

The coefficients for the variables tested in the previous multilevel models have not changed substantially in this model and, therefore, the focus is on analysing the variables that were added. Employment type has a small and insignificant negative effect. More specifically, those with alternative employment have a minor, insignificant disadvantage compared to monthly paid workers ($\exp(b)=0.844$, $p=0.431$). Other activity, both being a student and other employment, also had insignificant effects on the odds of belonging to the higher salary category rather than to the lower one. The significance of this model is 0.06 – just over the significant level of 0.05, which means it is only marginally significant. It is important to note that sample size is an important factor in determining significance, and so a bigger sample could have potentially revealed a significant relationship.

Based on this model and the descriptive statistics presented in this section, I conclude that the effect of employment arrangement on salary explored in this section is not directly causal, but rather is affected by the other attributes of workers which were discussed in the previous sections of this chapter, particularly working hours. The causal link is, therefore, work arrangement affecting the number of hours, which in turn hours affect the payment level. This causality was exemplified by one interviewee:

Let's get real, the hours you get as a freelancer are not enough. Very often without noticing they give you work, work, work, and... The freelancer, for him it's not a position. They come to do something specific and then if it takes longer, they can't come tomorrow... because if next month you won't work, you won't get hours. You either do it now or you don't.

In other words, the lack of commitment from the organisation means that to finish the tasks they are paid for, freelancers often need to work extra (unpaid) hours, which they are not compensated for as other workers are. Other workers could be compensated for their time by having more days off or working less hours at another time, but freelancers do not have these options because they are not working for long enough periods of time in the same SMO. More research is needed on the issue of freelancers and other alternative working arrangements. However, the current research indicates that they are disadvantaged on multiple levels compared to monthly-paid workers in their level of payment as well as in factors related to their motivations and relationship with the SMO they work for. The following section will provide a summary of the different findings from this chapter, and use the individual level findings to lay the ground for the organisational level analysis in the next chapter.

5.6 Summary

This chapter offers a starting point to understanding who the SMO workers are and how they became SMO workers. To do that, I first examined the considerations and rationalities involved in the choice to become an SMO worker. This was followed by a review of the characteristics and working conditions of these workers. These have been contextualised in comparison to other workers in the Israeli labour market, and when possible to workers in the third sector in Israel. Finally, the different working arrangements in SMOs have been discussed, with particular emphasis on freelancers. In order to address these issues, I aimed to answer four key questions in my thesis. To

conclude it, I will answer each of them directly, based on the analysis presented in the chapter.

- *How and why do individuals become SMO workers?*

Following Crossley's (2003) suggestion of the important milestones in the biographies of SMO members, I explored two different elements: Education, and family background. I found that similar to findings in social movement literature, the surveyed SMO workers have a high level of education, and tend to have studied social sciences or education. These areas of study have been interpreted in two different ways. One way involves highlighting the interest of those who study these areas, as well as the likelihood they would be recruited into a social movement through the contacts from their studies. This interpretation reflects value-led rationality as well as classic social movement recruitment paths. The other interpretation emphasises the difficulty to find appropriate employment for graduates of these areas, which could encourage them to find suitable employment in SMOs. This interpretation represents instrumental rationality, and a career-focused explanation. The second element I explored was parents' occupation, where results show that SMO workers' parents tended to have higher status than the general population in Israel, suggesting that additional resources and support would be available for SMO workers. From this perspective, SMO workers' career choice, much like the decision to join social movements in general, could be enabled by the time and money they could spare. To better understand these findings as a whole, and to offer a cohesive conceptualisation of SMO workers' careers, I suggest using the concept *activist career*, which helps understanding the activism aspect of their choices, without losing the meaning of career progression as well as career-related motivations.

As I indicated at the beginning of the chapter, this thesis is explanatory in nature. Methodologically, I have conducted a survey to explore certain questions and hypotheses, and have collaborated with interviewees and participants in workshops to understand the findings of this survey. However, to properly explore the pathways and motivations leading to work in SMOs I believe that further exploratory research is needed, which will offer a more complete view of these issues. These findings can

serve as a starting point for such research, offering a realistic and critical view of workers' paths into SMOs.

- *Are SMO workers distinct in their characteristics, such as age, gender and nationality composition, education, and experience in the labour market?*

As shown in Section 5.3, SMO workers tend to be younger than other workers, but in a similar age range to that of third sector workers. SMOs have a significantly higher proportion of women and Palestinians, and have a different occupational composition than that of other Israeli workers. They tend to be more likely to be academics, associate professionals and technicians, and managers, somewhat similarly to the distribution of occupations in the third sector, though with less emphasis on educational positions. I conclude that SMO workers are a distinct population, with specific attributes, which could play a role in determining the working conditions in SMOs. This will be important for the analysis in the rest of the thesis, as these variables will be controlled for whenever I conduct multivariate analysis to examine causal effects on working conditions in SMOs.

- *What are the working conditions in SMOs, and how do they compare to those in the Israeli labour market? Specifically – what are distributions of working hours and over-time, of tenure, and of salary?*

Regarding working hours – though the median is similar in SMO workers and workers in the Israeli labour market, more SMO workers are working in part-time positions. This does not seem to be the result of preference amongst these workers, and is only partially explained by the high proportion of students. SMO workers also work a high proportion and number of over-time hours, most of which are unpaid. Additionally, SMO workers have shorter tenure than other workers. Finally, SMO workers' salary levels are similar to those of the general Israeli labour market. However, when looking only at those with an academic degree or at those with a full-time position, SMO workers earn less than other workers. A description of one interviewee sums this up well. She describes her difficult financial condition as a result of choosing to work in an SMO: "I can't take less money. I'm not managing living... I always have an overdraft at the bank, and at my age to ask my mother it's shocking. Absolutely

shocking.” All of these elements fit well with my conceptualisation of work in SMOs as being in-between work and volunteering. According to this view, workers, in effect, volunteer some of the time they spend working, or some of the money that would have been paid for their work elsewhere. Some of these elements could certainly be found in other industries as well, yet the way they are rationalised would be different.

- *What are the occupational arrangements in SMOs and how do they affect working conditions?*

Findings show that the two largest groups are monthly-paid workers, and freelancers. Both the process of data collection for the survey and the responses in the interviews and workshops created a feeling of unequal terms and positions for freelancers. Data showed that freelancers are similar to monthly-paid workers in their nationality, sex, education, labour market experience, and tenure. Freelancers, however, work significantly fewer hours and earn significantly less than monthly-paid workers. This could be related to freelancers holding another job. However, it is not clear if working another job has affected working as a freelancer or the other way around. Freelancers are less likely to earn higher salaries in SMOs, however this seems to be mediated by the amount of hours they work.

SMO workers are, therefore, a group with their own characteristics and working conditions, although more similar to the third sector workers than to the general labour market. Freelancers are disadvantaged compared to others, and merit further research. Since this chapter showed a high percentage of women and Palestinians in SMOs, as well as high levels of education, the following chapter will examine these issues at the individual and the organizational levels.

Chapter 6: “It’s the ‘Chicken or the Egg’”: Inequalities Within and Between SMOs

6.1 Introduction

SMOs differ from private and public sector organisations mainly because they follow an ideological bottom line, rather than profit or service of the state. As part of civil society, SMOs are expected to be committed to solidarity and equality (Hall and Trenmann, 2005). These values are expected to be upheld not only through the organisation’s activities, but also through their structure and their employment mechanisms. In this chapter, I examine if this expectation is realised in the researched SMOs regarding gender and nationality. Furthermore, one of the foci of civil society is providing help, in particular to marginalised groups (Salamon and Anheier, 1998). Both Palestinians and women are marginalised groups, although in different ways and to different degrees. Gender and nationality inequalities will be examined within, but also between, SMOs. The organisational level examination follows research showing that sectors that have high proportions of women or of Palestinians have different working conditions from other sectors (Mandel and Semyonov, 2006; Lewin-Epstein and Semyonov, 1994). To this organisational level examination I add two important variables: educational level, which has proven to be a key variable in understanding SMO workers’ careers and working conditions; and proportion of workers in labour unions, which is only hypothesised to affect working conditions at the organisational level. This chapter is therefore guided by the following research question: *Are there individual or organisational level inequalities in SMOs?* This question is broken down to two more specific questions:

- *Are the gender and nationality inequalities that exist in the Israeli labour market replicated in SMOs?*

After examining characteristics and working conditions of SMO workers compared to the Israeli labour market, I compare different groups of SMO workers according to gender and nationality. These two variables are the basis for differentiated working conditions in Israel (Haberfeld and Cohen, 2007) and elsewhere (Hausmann et al.,

2009; Rosenfeld and Kalleberg, 1990), so it is interesting to see, given the progressive ethos emphasising human rights of many SMOs, if and how these disparities exist in the SMO sector. Despite the common method used in my analysis, gender and nationality have different meanings in the context of Israeli peace SMOs. The Israeli peace movement, like other peace movements, has “tended to be male-dominated and masculine in style – indeed, at worst positively militaristic – and has ignored the gender significance of Israeli militarism and the occupation.” (Cockburn, 2007: 110). Today, some of the most influential organisations in the Israeli peace movement are feminist to some degree (ibid), although these organisations are at times less professionalised and do not employ workers. The question of women’s working conditions in the researched SMOs, therefore, remains. It could also shed light on an aspect of women’s participation in the movement, rather than just on their working conditions. When examining nationality, some factors could decrease Palestinians’ relative salary in the researched SMOs, such as their general standing in the Israeli labour market (Yashiv and Kasir, 2014), and their position which could be seen as that of local staff, who would be paid less in aid organisations (Roth, 2014). Other factors, however, could increase Palestinians’ salary, such as their knowledge of the Arabic language and culture, which are useful for some of the positions as well as the movement’s focus on improving lives of Palestinians. It is important to note that the conjunction of gender and nationality has its own particular meanings in Israeli peace SMOs. For the purposes of this thesis, however, the relevant point regarding Palestinian women is that they have a low participation rate in the Israeli labour market, and face poor working conditions (Khattab, 2002). To address this issue, I look at the effects of gender and nationality on working conditions.

- *How do gender, nationality, education, and unionisation affect working conditions at the organisational level?*

Up until this point I used multilevel modelling when examining the effect of individual level variables, because regression analysis assumes that observations are independent from each other. In this case, workers in the same organisation are not completely independent from each other. The multilevel framework was therefore used to correct for this assumption and take into account that some workers belong to the same

organisation. In this chapter I employ not only a multilevel technique – but a multilevel perspective. Theoretically, practically, and morally – the employing SMOs are a side of this story, and not only a grouping mechanism of the workers that prevents the observations to be independent from each other. This chapter and the following one bring this consideration to the front, relying on the analysis presented in the previous chapter to point to the relevant outcome variables, as well as to the control variables at the individual level. The three measures of working conditions which were found to be significantly different for SMO workers compared to the general labour market in the previous chapter – work hours, salary, and tenure – are used as the outcome variables for the examination of organisational level variables. Gender, nationality, and education are used as control variables at the individual level, following their significant and substantial effect on working conditions presented in the previous chapter.

For the examination of inequalities between organisations I have chosen four variables, based on different considerations. The first variable is education, which was chosen because of its large effect on working conditions within SMOs. In fact, it is possibly the most substantial factor in predicting working conditions. It also seems to be an important consideration due to the high level of education of the researched workers. The second variable is gender, which has been shown in previous research to have an effect when looking at an aggregated level, and not only at the individual level (Mandel and Semyonov, 2006). The third variable is nationality, reflecting the research showing that despite the fact that Palestinians as individuals earn less than Jews in Israel, this effect is mitigated when examining Palestinian enclaves, in which the Palestinians do not need to compete with Jewish workers. Finally, I examine the effect of worker unions. This variable has not been examined at the individual level, based on the assumption that unions, in accordance with Israeli labour laws, affect the working conditions of all the workers in the organisation, and not only of the unionised ones. The prominence and power of unions in Israel have been declining for several decades, but this process has been reversed since 2008, partially due to the creation of a new major labour union (Swirski et al., 2015).

The following section explores inequalities at the individual level, focusing on gender and nationality. Section 6.3 presents a set of variance partitioning models and discusses the level of variance between organisations compared to the variance within organisations. This will allow me to decide if there is a strong enough reason to explore organisational level effects. This lays the basis for the analysis of organisational level variables – an analysis that is presented in this and the next chapter. Finally, Section 6.4 explores the effects of workers' composition of gender, nationality, education, and unionised workers on working conditions.

6.2 Individual Level Inequalities

I begin my examination of inequalities *within* SMOs (individual level inequalities). I mentioned in the methods chapter (Chapter 4) that some characteristics of SMO workers are expected to have an effect on working conditions, such as education and years in the labour market. These are attributes that contribute to the worker's ability to perform their work tasks, and labour market research often refers to differences in earnings according to such characteristics as 'returns' (e.g. Buonanno and Pozzoli, 2009). This term implies that the workers have made an investment to their human capital, which is the workers' total knowledge, skills and experience that translate into their ability to produce profit (Schultz, 1961). It further implies that the workplace profits from the product of this investment, and thereby pays "dividends" to the worker for it. Alongside these characteristics that are expected to yield returns, are those characteristics that we would not, in a perfect situation, expect to have an impact on working conditions. In this context, these are mainly gender and nationality.⁴⁶ If working conditions are affected by these characteristics, this would generally be seen as discrimination, and stand in stark contrast to the values of equality and of helping marginalised groups, which are at the heart of civil society.

The expectation of equal employment for women and for Palestinians has an additional meaning in the Israeli peace movement. Since promoting and empowering Palestinians is part of the movement's goals, it would be against these goals to discriminate against them in peace SMOs. Gender is not as directly related to the movement's goals as

⁴⁶ Although ethnicity is an important factor as well, but not measured in this research due to the small number of Mizrachi respondents.

nationality is, but the prominence and position of women in the movement is changing (Cockborn, 2007), and the awareness of gender issues is growing even beyond the specific organisations that declare themselves to be feminist. Discriminatory employment would, therefore, be going against both the general values of civil society, and the specific goals and values of the Israeli peace movement. To explore this further, this section examines working conditions in SMOs according to gender and nationality to determine if such discrimination exists and if so, an attempt will be provided to explain it. This exploration would assist me in explaining one of the findings of the previous chapter.

As shown in Section 5.3, women and Palestinians are over-represented in SMOs, both compared to their proportion in the Israeli population, and to their proportion of the Israeli labour market. This could be due to a number of factors, driven by either the employer or by the employees. The first factor, which is not directly researched in this study, but merits discussion nonetheless, is bias in the recruitment process. Palestinians are disadvantaged on many levels in the Israeli labour market, including in their proportion of labour market participation (Yashiv and Kasir, 2014). Part of the explanation for this disadvantage is recruitment bias. In an experiment that took place in the United States and the Netherlands, Derous et al (2009) studied prejudice against Arabs when assessing CVs. They found that even if explicit discrimination is difficult to find, implicit discrimination is a significant element in processes of assessing a job applicant. This general effect in Israel could affect SMOs hiring procedures in two ways: (1) Palestinians who feel that other sectors are not open to them, would be more likely to approach the SMO sector. The other is that in SMOs the opposite process occurs, and employers implicitly assess women and Palestinians more highly when recruiting. The second factor affecting the high proportion of women and Palestinians in peace SMOs is the existence of SMOs that only employ women or Palestinians. Some of the SMOs, either explicitly (for example, by using names such as “Coalition of Women for Peace”), or implicitly (for example, by only working in Arabic and English), only appeal to Palestinians or to women.

The third factor that could increase the proportion of women and Palestinians in the researched SMOs is the workers’ motivations. Literature regarding motivations was

discussed in Chapter 3, and their relation to working conditions is discussed in Chapter 7. However, it is possible that the different kinds of motivations are not evenly distributed. For example, as Palestinians are negatively affected by the Palestinian-Israeli conflict on a daily basis, their ideological-social motivations may be stronger when it comes to working in peace SMOs. It is well documented that women's attitudes towards war and peace are different from those of men, with women showing less support for war (Cockburn, 2007). Additionally, psychological literature suggests that the motivations for women's work-related choices are different from those of men, and focus more on care for others (e.g. Astin, 1984). These specific elements in women's and Palestinians' motivations could, therefore, explain why they have a greater tendency to work in SMOs. The final factor, which is particularly relevant for women's high proportions in SMOs, is preferable working conditions. As women's traditional roles in society involve care for children and others, they often tend to be employed in part-time positions, which allow them to attend to others in their time off work (Kalleberg, 2000). As seen in the previous chapter, SMOs offer a large proportion of part-time positions, which could be attractive for women and therefore attract more women to apply for them. Although the previous chapter suggested that there is not a match between those who hold part-time jobs and those who want them, this is a general rule and this logic could still apply to some women.

While the other factors are examined in the following chapters of this dissertation, this section examines the relative working conditions for women and Palestinians in SMOs. These two divisions into sub-populations will be examined with similar methodological terms. However, they tell two very different stories. I hypothesised that the patterns found in the Israeli labour market is reflected in SMOs: Women receive lower compensation than men, while Palestinians receive similar compensations to those of Jews. In this section, I aim to find if there are causal links between gender and salary, and between nationality and salary. As neither gender nor nationality are affected by salary levels, the temporal condition for causality is fulfilled. To prove a causal relationship would hence require me to show that gender and nationality are indeed correlated with salary levels, and that this relationship does not disappear when controlling for additional relevant variables. First, I explore the relationship of gender and salary, and then the relationship between nationality and salary.

6.2.1 Gender

Whilst attitudes towards gender in the Israeli peace movement are changing (Cockburn, 2007), the masculine, militaristic ethos expressed which acts as a legitimating agent for the Israeli peace movement still plays an important role. Thinking within the framework of the capital workers bring with them to an organisation, or rather their potential contribution to the organisation's success and effectiveness, I would like to present two reversed arguments. First, shall argue that women have a unique place in peace building, because war has particularly severe implications on women that create a different appreciation for peace and a different set of priorities among women (ibid). An expression of this view can be seen in the well-known Security Council resolution 1325 (2000), which urges member states to include more women in decision-making and peace processes, and to take gender issues into account in these processes. Women would, according to this logic, be an asset to peace SMOs and would be compensated accordingly. The other argument is based on the alienating nature of the peace movement in Israel, and its image as lacking loyalty and military ability (Helman, 2001). To overcome this image, men could be seen as important to an SMO's image so would be more highly valued. Both logics are apparent in different Israeli peace SMOs, but the way they are reflected in men and women's working conditions is still subject to empirical examination.

Are women who work in SMOs different from men in terms of age, experience in the labour market, or educational attainments? To claim that there is a difference between men and women's working condition, I have to make sure these differences do not stem from other differences between the groups, such as education. As seen in the previous chapter, these factors are important to consider when comparing the working conditions between the two groups. I compared the mean age and years in the labour market between men and women in SMOs, within a t-test to measure the significance of the difference between the means. Results show fairly small and insignificant age differences between men and women workers. Men's mean age is 41.5, and Women's mean age is 39.3 (sig: 0.305). Accordingly, men have had a mean of 19.3 years in the labour market, and women had a mean of 18 years (sig: 0.493).

To find out if men and women bring a different level of qualifications to the workplace, I examined the percentage of different educational attainments among men and women in SMOs. Although men and women are significantly different in their levels of education (sig: 0.025), this difference is not linear. Men are more likely to have a master's degree and above: 56.5% for men compared to only 34.3% for women. However, they are also more likely to have no education: 5.4% for men compared to only 1.4% for women. In contrast, women have a notably higher percentage of having a BA: 42% of women compared to 21.4% for men. Interestingly, if we combine the percentages of having any academic qualification, the percentages are very similar: 76.3% of women and 75% of men have earned an academic degree. Since out of these, men had achieved a higher proportion of master's and above, we can conclude they have higher education than women.⁴⁷

Given research showing the prevalence of women in part-time positions (Kalleberg, 2000), I compared the mean hours and tenure for men and women in SMOs. Both means are, as expected, lower for women. Women work a mean of 33 hours per week, compared to men's 38 hours per week. This difference is marginally significant at a 0.065 significance level. Women also have lower tenure with a mean of 5 compared to 6.4 for men. This difference is insignificant (sig: 0.196). It is important to remember that achieving significance in a t-test with such a small sample could be hard, and so it is worth considering the results that are only marginally significant. These comparisons between men and women all raise variables for consideration to the multivariate model, in which I test the hypothesis that women earn less than men, even when controlling for these possibly intervening variables.

Finally, men and women's payments are compared in a bivariate analysis. This allows me to see if there is a correlation between gender and salary, before looking at the effect of all these variables together in a way that enables me to claim that this relationship is causal, rather than spurious. The results of this comparison show that men earn more than women. The median for men (7,000-10,000 NIS) is higher than for women (5,500 – 7,000 NIS), and so is the percentage of those earning more than 10,000 NIS per month (equivalent to £20,000 per annum): 25% out of the men in the sample, compared to

⁴⁷ The full distribution is presented in Table 16 in Appendix 4.

12.5% out of the women. Although these results are quite revealing and support my hypothesis regarding the gender gap in SMOs, they are not significant (Cramer's V: 0.220. sig: 0.206). This could be due to the small sample size. To determine if this gap is explained by the difference in working hours, I used a regression model that includes, among other variables, the amount of weekly work hours.

Following this comparison, I fit a multilevel model predicting income. The model in Table 6.1 uses the binary income variable as the dependent variable, and the age (and age squared), working years, tenure in the specific organisation, weekly hours, and educational dummy variables, which were used in the previous multilevel model as the independent variables, as control variables. I have added a gender variable (woman being the reference category, as they are the larger group, and also to not automatically assume men are the 'natural' basis for comparison) as an independent variable, as well as interaction terms for education and gender, to account for a possibility that returns for education are different for men and women. To maintain as much statistical power as possible, interaction terms were only used for gender and education, and in the next section for gender, education and nationality – as the conjunction of these variables is of interest in this study.

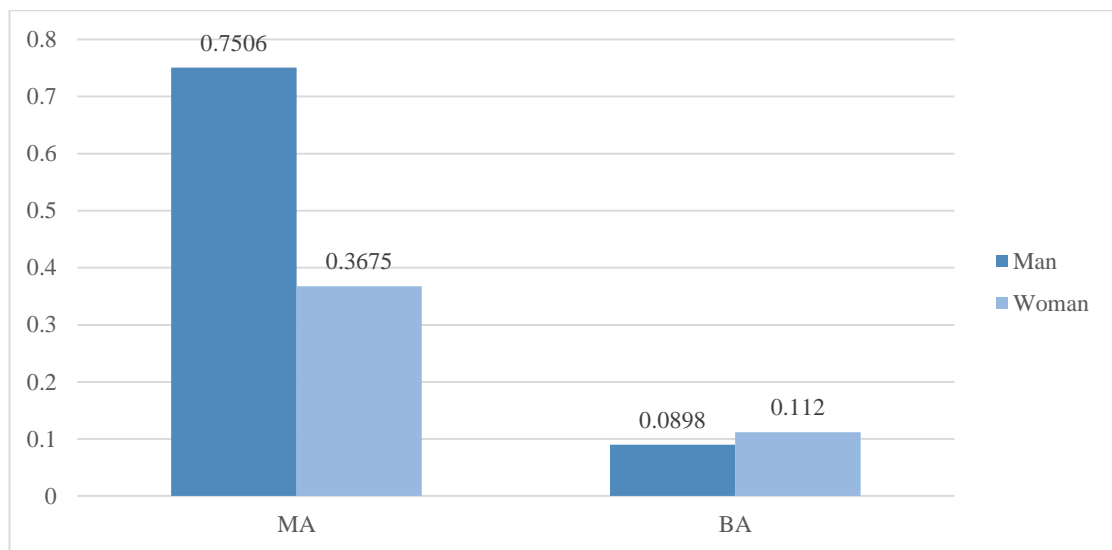
In the model presented in Table 6.1, age, age squared, and labour market experience remain similar to their levels in Table 5.2 in Chapter 5. The positive effects of weekly working hours and tenure in the work place have grown: every weekly work hour increases the odds of belonging to the higher salary level compared to the odds of belonging to the lower one by 12.5% ($p=0.000$), and every year of tenure increases these odds by 15.9% ($p=0.005$). While the effect of having a BA remained negative and insignificant ($\exp(b)=0.321$, $p=0.064$), the effect of an MA stayed positive but has become insignificant ($\exp(b)=1.482$, $p=0.306$). However, these effects now only apply to women, as the effects for men also take into account the interaction terms: an insignificant but positive term for BA ($\exp(b)=13.722$, $p=0.067$), and a significant and positive effect for MA ($\exp(b)=90.83$, $p=0.005$). On the other hand, the effect for men in general is negative and significant: when all other terms are equal, the odds of men earning more than 7000 NIS a month rather than less than 7000 are 17.53 time smaller than the same odds for women. The significance of the model itself is 0.05. All in all,

for those with a master's degree and above, who are about 40% of the surveyed workers, men earn more than women. For the rest of the surveyed population, the chances to earn more than 7,000 NIS per month are quite low to begin with, with minor differences between men and women. The remainder of this sub-section will show how I reached this conclusion, and suggest an interpretation of it.

Table 6.1 Multilevel logistic regression predicting salary levels with gender

	Log-odds	Odds/odds ratios	Standard error	Significance
Age centred	-0.043	0.957	0.081	0.298
Age squared	-0.006	0.994	0.002	0.001
Work years	0.036	1.036	0.083	0.332
Work hours	0.118	1.125	0.022	0.000
Tenure	0.148	1.159	0.058	0.005
<i>Education</i>				
BA	-1.134	0.322	0.746	0.064
MA	0.394	1.483	0.777	0.306
Gender (man=1)	-2.864	0.057	1.445	0.024
<i>interactions with gender</i>				
BA	2.619	13.722	1.751	0.067
MA	4.509	90.830	1.764	0.005
Intercept	-4.955	0.007	1.751	0.002
Organisational level variance	2.101	8.174	1.073	0.025
N	151			
Wald statistics	3.845			0.050

Figure 6.1: Predicted probabilities to earn more than 7000 NIS per month for a 30 year old person, with 9 years' experience in the labour market and 3 years tenure, who works 40 hours a week



Since interpreting the results of a logistic model with interaction terms is challenging due to the multiplicative nature of the model, I have used the model equation to produce log odds for four different profiles, and have converted these log odds into probabilities, as shown in figure 6.1. This figure shows the predicted probabilities to earn more than 7,000 NIS a month (about £14,000 a year in the UK) for a 30 year old with 9 years' experience in the labour market and 3 years of tenure in the specific organisation, who works 40 hours per week. The only two factors that change in this graph are gender and education as these are the terms of interest, and also the terms interacting in the model. This means that if the other factors do change – the change will be the same for all four columns, and so even though every age or tenure year will make this graph slightly different – the difference between the columns remains the same. As Figure 6.1 shows, for those with an MA – men have more than twice the probability of women to earn

more than 7,000 NIS. The probability for men with MA or higher is 0.75, while the parallel probability for women is 0.37. For those with BA, however, women have a slightly higher probability to be in the higher salary category (higher by 0.02), but both men and women in these educational levels have low probabilities to earn more than 7,000 NIS per month in a peace SMO: approximately a 1 in 10 chance. All things considered and when controlling for all other variables, men's salary levels are higher than women's in SMOs.

This finding can be interpreted at a few different levels, which are not mutually exclusive but rather support one another. One, mentioned in the beginning of this subsection, is the importance of men to support the movement's claim for legitimacy, based on the importance of masculinity and militarism in the Israeli society (Sasson-Levy, 2003). Another interpretation is that this inequality maintains the prominence of men in peace social movements, and in social movements in the west in general. Yet another interpretation would be that gender inequality in Israeli SMOs reflects the inequality in the Israeli labour market in general. These explanations notwithstanding, and regardless of its sources, this gender inequality is a form of discrimination, violating the values of equality on which the SMOs are based.

6.2.2 Nationality

I will now examine the Palestinian-Jewish divide, expecting to find rather different results from those presented for women. In as much as the Israeli peace movement can be considered a sub-sector with a large presence of Palestinians, the lesser competition with Jews is hypothesised to increase Palestinians' earnings (Lewin-Epstein and Semyonov, 1994). Furthermore, as mentioned above, Palestinians can make a unique contribution to Israeli peace SMOs through skills such as knowledge of Arabic. They also make an important statement in their presence, which can be thought of with the framework of identity politics, in which the individual's identity is no less meaningful than their political opinions (Fraser, 2009). Despite the different situation for women and Palestinians in Israeli peace SMOs, the method of enquiry is very similar. I begin by comparing age, experience in the labour market, tenure in the work place, and educational attainments between Jews and Palestinians. These are factors that could affect the payment workers receive. I therefore compare the distributions of these

variables in order to consider them as possible intervening variables in the relationship between nationality and salary. I compared the means of age, years in the labour market and job tenure between Jews and Palestinians. Among SMO workers, Palestinians are significantly younger than Jews, with a mean age of 36 compared to 41.7 (sig: 0.000), respectively. Fittingly, Palestinians have also had significantly less experience in the labour market – a mean of 14.2 years for Palestinians, compared to 20.1 years for Jews (sig: 0.000). Palestinians' mean tenure (4.6 years) is also lower than that of Jews (5.7 years), however this difference is insignificant (sig: 0.235).

I further compared the percentage of different educational attainments for Jews and Palestinians in SMOs. This comparison reveals that Jews have somewhat higher educational attainments than Palestinians who work in SMOs: 75.4% of Palestinians and 76.1% of Jews hold at least one academic degree. However, Jews have a higher proportion of a second degree or higher – 42% compared to 34.4% of Palestinians. Jews also have a higher proportion of those with a non-academic post high-school diploma – 14.5% compared with 9.8% of the Palestinians. These differences are not significant.⁴⁸

As a final step before fitting a multivariate model, I tested to see if there is a difference between Jews and Palestinians in their salary level, and what the direction of this correlation is. While Jews have a slightly higher percentage of workers earning more than 10,000 NIS per month (16.5% compared to 14.8% among Palestinians), the median for Palestinians' income (7,000-10,000 NIS) is higher than that of Jews (5,500-7,000 NIS). This result is not significant (sig: 0.259), perhaps due to the small sample size. However, given the various variables that could affect this relationship, it is worth testing it in a multivariate, multilevel model.

To reaffirm these results while controlling for other variables, I have reproduced the multilevel model presented in Table 6.1 in Table 6.2, adding nationality (reference category: Palestinian), and interaction terms for gender and nationality and education and nationality. The effects that were seen in Table 6.1 can, therefore, provide a basis for my discussion here. The effects presented in the previous models have only seen

⁴⁸ These distributions are presented in table 16 in appendix 4.

minor changes, with the exception of BA which remained negative and has become significant ($\exp(b)=0.128$, $p=0.031$). The nationality effect as well as the interaction terms for it are both insignificant. However, it is worth noting that when all else is equal, Jews are 2.75 times less likely to belong to the higher paying category ($p=0.809$), but the education and gender interaction terms, despite being insignificant, all show higher odds for Jews than for Palestinians to earn more than 7000 NIS a month. The interpretation of this analysis is less straightforward than that of the model suggested for women, but the overall conclusion is that when all else is equal, Palestinians earn more than Jews in Israeli peace SMOs. However, to understand the results of this regression, the two elements: gender and nationality, must be understood in conjunction. The rest of this sub-section will offer such explanation, through the creation of predicted probabilities for specific profiles.

Table 6.2 Multilevel logistic regression predicting salary levels with gender and nationality

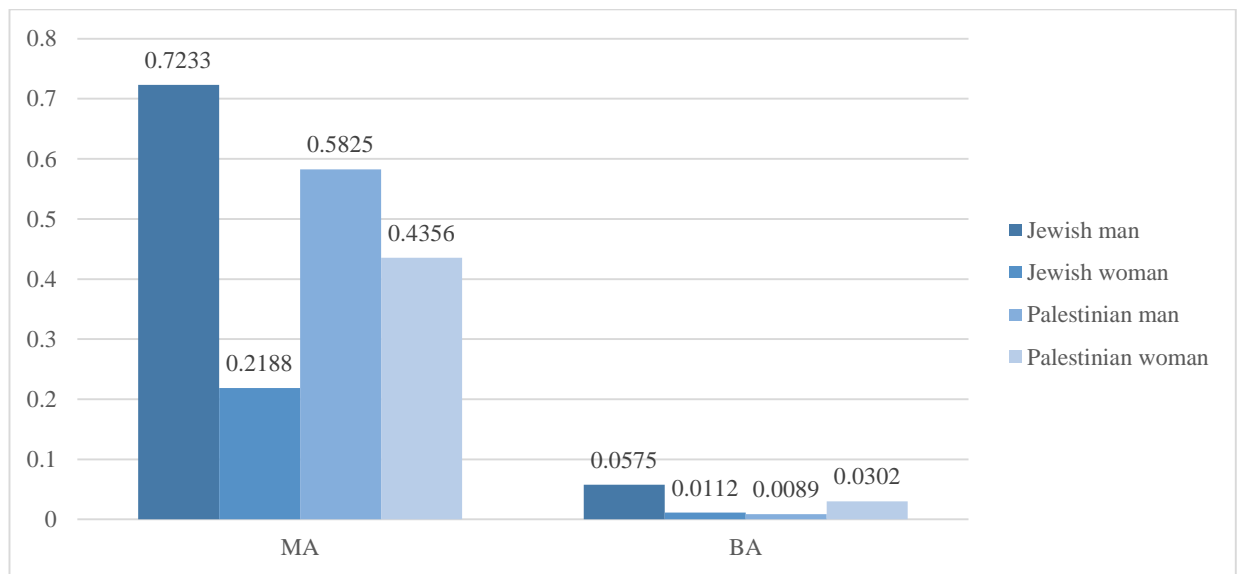
	Log-odds	Odds/odds ratios	Standard error	Significance
Age centred	-0.057	0.945	0.082	0.243
Age squared	-0.006	0.994	0.002	0.001
Work years	0.048	1.049	0.083	0.282
Work hours	0.114	1.121	0.021	0.000
Tenure	0.144	1.155	0.063	0.011
<i>Education</i>				

BA	-2.048	0.129	1.101	0.031
MA	1.162	3.196	1.53	0.224
Gender (man=1)	-3.605	0.027	1.593	0.012
<i>Interactions with gender</i>				
BA	2.359	10.58	1.852	0.101
MA	4.197	66.49	1.871	0.012
Nationality (Jewish=1)	-1.014	0.363	1.16	0.809
<i>Interactions with nationality</i>				
Gender (man=1)	1.110	3.034	1.429	0.219
BA	1.822	6.184	1.357	0.090
MA	0.532	1.702	1.611	0.371
Intercept	-4.955	0.007	1.751	0.002
Organisational level variance	2.101	8.174	1.073	0.025
N	151			

To ease the interpretation, I produced the predicted log odds for eight different social profiles and converted these into probabilities, similarly to Figure 6.2. We can see that in both educational groups – the BA and MA – Jewish men have the highest probabilities to earn more than 7000 NIS per month (0.72 and 0.057, respectively). Among those with an MA, Jewish men are followed by Palestinian men (0.52), Palestinian women (0.43) and finally Jewish women (0.21). For those who have a BA, the predicted probability of earning more than 7000 NIS per month, even when

working full-time (40 hours) – is very low and does not reach the 0.1 probability. In other words, this analysis has partially confirmed my hypothesis: women do earn less than men, and overall, it seems that Palestinians earn more than Jews. However, the picture is more complex than this, as Jewish men earn the most, and Jewish women, the largest group in the researched SMOs – the least.

Figure 6.2. Predicted probabilities to earn more than 7000 NIS per month for a 30 year old person, with 9 years' experience in the labour market and 3 years tenure, who works 40 hours a week



This section examined the attributes and working conditions of men and women, Jews and Palestinians. It confirmed my hypothesis that women are rewarded less than men, while showing that when taking gender, education, and working characteristics into account, the highest earners are Jewish men, followed by Palestinian men, Palestinian women, and finally – Jewish women. This is different from the Israeli labour market, in which Jewish men still earn the most, followed by Jewish women, Palestinian men, and finally Palestinian women (Yashiv, and Kasir, 2014). The gender dynamics, therefore, are maintained in Israeli peace SMOs, while nationality gaps are not. Generalising from this research population to other SMOs in the world raises interesting questions about the social meaning of gender, nationality, and race in different contexts, which could be addressed in future research. Despite the unique

importance of masculinity in the Israeli society and peace movement, gender pay gaps and male dominance in social movements are consistent across western countries. However, the employment of local staff in aid organisations, including in post-colonial contexts, does not seem to follow the same pattern in the world. In international aid NGOs, local or national workers (those from the global south) experience worse working conditions than “international” workers (those from the global north) (Roth, 2012). Some factors worth considering to explore this would be the prominence of Palestinian organisations and the fact that both nationalities may be considered as local in this complex political situation.

6.3 Variance Between and Within Organisations

My aim in this chapter is to explore the effect of organisational level variables, including professionalisation, on working conditions. This exploration assumes that there is such an effect I could explore, In other words, that working conditions are being determined not only at the individual level – by the worker’s position, abilities, and characteristics – but also at the organisational level. Therefore, before I proceeded to conduct multilevel analysis to look at the effects of organisational level variables – I examined how much of the variance in working conditions exists at the organisational level and how much at the individual level. If I found that almost no variance happens at the organisational level, I would have to consider a different path for analysis, because the organisational level would not be appropriate for the analysis.

To test the proportion of organisational level variance compared to individual level variance, I have produced three models, predicting the three outcome variables I use in this chapter: salary, tenure, and work hours. Because I am only interested in comparing the two levels – the individual and the organisational – I have not included any other variables in these models. These models are called Variance Partitioning Models, because they are used to assess how the variance is divided between the different levels. The three models are presented in Table 6.3, and they present the variance at the individual and the organisational levels, as well as the percentage of variance of the organisational level out of the total variance. This percentage is called a Variance Partition Coefficient (VPC), and it is recommended in the multilevel methods literature (e.g. Merlo et al., 2006) for assessing the level of influence level 2

has in an analysis. In my case, level 2 is the organisational level, so the VPC is useful in producing a clear measure of the organisational influence on each of the three outcome variables.

Table 6.3 Variance partitioning models between the individual and organisational levels, predicting weekly work hours, tenure, and salary (standard errors in brackets)

	Work hours	Tenure	Salary
Overall mean	36.1 (2.2)	4.9 (0.7)	-0.1 (0.3)
Organisational level variance	99.1 (37.2)	8.7 (3.9)	1.6 (0.7)
Individual level variance	181.58 (19.8)	31.71 (3.4)	3.29 ⁴⁹
Total variance	280.7	40.4	4.8
Percentage of organisational variance out of total variance	35%	21%	33%

As presented in Table 6.3, the VPC scores are 35% for working hours, 21% for tenure, and 33% for salary. These VPCs are considered high for models in which the lower level in the multilevel analysis is an individual (Merlo et al., 2013), and confirm the importance of SMOs in determining the working conditions within them. This means it is worthwhile considering what the organisational variables affecting working

⁴⁹ While work hours and tenure are continuous variables and the models estimated for them are linear, salary is a binary variable and therefore requires a logistic model. One of the implications of this is that the individual level variance of the model predicting salary is an assumption of the model, rather than an estimation (Goldstein et al., 2002). For this reason, there is no standard error.

conditions are, since the organisations do matter when it comes to predicting working conditions. This result does not represent the organisations' intention or ideology in determining working conditions, it represents different levels of employment practices between the organisations. If the SMO sector were completely unified and all organisations employed workers in the same way – there would be no justification in exploring the organisational level variables. However, this result confirms my hypothesis that organisations are not only different from each other, but that they are different from each other in the way they employ workers. With this reassurance that there is scope to examine organisational effects on working conditions, the next section examines the effect of years of education, gender, nationality, and unionisation rate – all at the organisational level – on working conditions. In the following chapter this exploration of organisational level variables will continue, focusing on organisational size, structure, and level of professionalisation.

6.4 Composition of Workers

Education, nationality and gender were all included in the models in the previous multilevel models. Yet, they were used as individual level variables, and were not examined at the aggregated level. In Chapter 5, I examined whether there were individual inequalities across gender and nationality lines, as well as the role of education in predicting payment levels. In this chapter, however, I offer an organisational level look at these variables, asking whether the composition of an organisation is correlated with the working conditions in that organisation. I use four variables in the section: gender, nationality, years of education, and belonging to a workers' union. I aim to examine if these organisational level features have an effect on working conditions that operate beyond the individual level effect.

Gender, nationality and education are all included here as they might have an effect on the organisation itself – the way it functions, its professionalisation level, and the working conditions it provides. In other words, women in a mostly-male organisation could enjoy the favourable status and working conditions as well, while a Palestinian in a Jewish organisation might suffer from the lesser conditions this organisation has to offer, even though men and Palestinians generally earn more in the studied SMOs. As for a union, the Israeli law states that when a workplace is unionised, the conditions

set by the union apply to all workers. Therefore, it is logical to include the strength of a union, measured by the percentage of unionised workers, as an organisational level variable.

The effect of gender and nationality composition in aggregated levels has been examined by the literature. Industries dominated by women often suffer from diminished status and prestige, as well as from lesser working conditions (Mandel and Semyonov, 2006). These are true for all workers in these industries, but especially for the women, as men tend to be ranked higher in the hierarchy of these industries. Primary education is the most prominent example – an industry with an overwhelming majority of women, which offers poor working conditions, and in which men are more likely to populate head teacher positions (Addi-Raccah, 2002; Acker, 1992; Strober and Tyack, 1980). Contrary to “female” industries, jobs located within Palestinian communities in Israel offer Palestinians better payment and status returns for education than jobs within the Jewish communities (Lewin-Epstein and Semyonov, 1994).

The four variables have all been aggregated and the organisational means are used. Note that for the binary variables of sex, nationality, and belonging to a workers’ union, these means represent the proportion of workers who are men, Palestinians, or unionised, respectively. The variables which represent working conditions – salary, work hours and tenure – are all at the individual level. Viewing the organisations in the aggregated level enables us to see the direct effects of the organisational environment, and not just of personal attributes. For example, an organisation with many women could have poorer working conditions, which will also apply to men. As presented in Chapter 5, having large proportions of women is suggested as one of the reasons for the relatively low payment levels in SMOs.

In the sampled organisations, the mean years of education is 16.95. The proportion of men is 0.28, the proportion of Jews is 0.69, and the proportion of unionised workers is 0.24. I examined the relationship at the organisational level between salary level (below or above 7000 NIS) and all these proportions. This analysis does not suggest a significant relationship in SMOs between the proportions of men and levels of salary for individual workers (sig: 0.415). This is interesting, as Chapter 5 showed that when examining earnings at the individual level, women earn significantly less than men.

Two explanations will be examined for this. First, at the organisational level, unlike at the personal level, gender does not affect salary. The second hypothesis, which is tested towards the end of this chapter, is that the effect of gender at the organisational level is revealed when controlling for other organisational features.

Another insignificant relationship in the organisational level is of particular theoretical interest, namely the relationship between salary and the proportion of unionised workers (sig: 0.977). The effect of unions on working conditions has been widely discussed in the literature (For example see: Holgate, 2005; Aidt and Tzannatos, 2002; Haberfeld, 1995), so I deliberately chose one interviewee who had played an active role in the creation and operation of a workers' union in their SMO. The interview pointed to two opposite correlations between working conditions and the existence of a union. On the one hand, the interviewee described the contribution of the union to improving working conditions:

In [specific SMO] stability wasn't the problem. The question is how to manage resources, how much money goes to salaries, what happens when there is no money and there are lay-offs because of that.

Interviewer: So what happens? What does the union do?

The union tries constantly to make sure there won't be sharp changes, tries to maintain stability in employment, both in the short term to make sure that if a worker is being made redundant they get the time to search etc., or to prevent lay-offs because of different situations, and in the longer term to contribute to mechanisms that contribute to stability and security and create better management of the association.

Later in the interview the interviewee went on to describe mechanisms that have significantly raised the salary of some workers. In some ways, then, the union improves the working conditions. On the other hand, the motivations to unionise are rooted in less-than-desirable working conditions, which suggests that poor working conditions could affect the likelihood of joining a union, rather than the other way around:

What made me start it (the union branch – M.K.E) is a combination, you know, of reality and... there was a budget crisis, they wanted to cut salaries, and I came with thoughts about this or an understanding of the importance of unions from before...

Additionally, the interviewee suggested that the union has a unique position in SMOs, which both increases and decreases its power:

It's like any union anywhere, it's not different. The only difference is that the management is also committed here to the workers' set of values.

Interviewer: Does this mean that when you raise demands they agree with you?

They don't always agree, they take them into consideration. They are still in the management position. [...] but they still take it into account and they are certainly very sensitive to the issue. There is no need to struggle just to discuss [common position for smaller unions in Israel – M.K.E]. On the other hand we as a union are weaker because it's very clear that if we declare a labour dispute in [specific SMO] it's a doomsday weapon. The media item on this alone hurts the [SMO's] reputation dramatically. There is some balance of power that the workers are not happy to... And in associations what happens is that many workers are identified with the organisation, they don't want to break the rules. So there is some negotiation and inner dialogue, and sometimes bitter arguments, but relative to other workplaces it's very polite.

The unionised workers in SMOs can and do negotiate, but within a very contained set of rules and conventions, which can make their effects weaker compared to other workplaces. On the one hand, they feel the need to pressure the management is lessened, since some of the stages that take the longest in usual union-management negotiations in Israel are taken for granted. The management almost automatically agrees to sit with the workers to discuss working conditions, and the basic concepts of fairness are shared among the management and workers. Another point of strength for the union in an SMO is the fact that values of fair payment to workers and values of fairness towards different groups in society are perceived as being related. Those who donate to an organisation to promote peace, civil rights, an end to the occupation and similar topics – are likely to be deterred if they find that the organisation suppresses workers' rights. Additionally, since peace and anti-occupation organisations in Israel are continually criticised, a public stand by workers against their employing organisation will provide ammunition to the criticisers, and could make the SMO a target of increased harassment.

Although the potentially severe impact of a strike, or even internal criticism made in the media by workers, could be seen as making workers stronger, they also make them weaker. Workers are aware that their workplace, and indeed an SMO they politically

support, could be ruined if they choose to escalate the discussions with the SMO's management. As described in the quote, this is perceived as a "doomsday weapon," which will have an extremely damaging effect for the workers and the SMO target audience, and not only for the SMO's management. It is true that almost every strike has damaging effects – which makes it an effective tactic – but in this case these seem to be too extreme to be seen as realistic.

The analysis suggests two significant correlations among SMO workers, which reinforce findings from Chapter 5: First of all, those who earn above 7000 NIS work in organisations with significantly higher proportions of Palestinians (sig: 0.018), and significantly higher means of educational years (sig: 0.000). Following this exploration of relations with salary level using t-tests, I ran a series of Pearson's r correlations between the four organisational variables and weekly hours and tenure at the individual level. The only significant relationship with both weekly hours and tenure is that of the proportion of men: workers in organisations with higher proportions of men tend to have higher tenure (Pearson's r : 0.273, sig: 0.000), and longer working hours (Pearson's r : 0.153, sig: 0.032). These relationships, or lack thereof, will also be examined in section 4 of this chapter, within a multilevel framework with control of multiple variables. This will allow me to examine the effect of the organisational composition while controlling for individual characteristics.

Table 6.4 looks at the effects of workers' composition in organisations on working conditions. It examines the effect of the proportion of women, Palestinians, and unionised workers in the SMO, as well as the mean years of education, on weekly work hours, tenure, and salary levels. It does so while controlling for gender, nationality, and education at the individual level. In other words, the effects examined here are organisational effects in addition to the individual effects of gender, nationality and education. For example, it examines the effect of the proportion of women in an organisation on weekly working hours while controlling for the individual worker's gender. This reflects the literature suggesting that the demographic compositions of workplaces can have an effect by itself on working conditions (Reskin et al., 1999). Specifically, based on the review in Section 6.3, I would expect to find that organisations with a higher proportion of men would have better working

conditions, as well as organisations with a higher proportion of Palestinians. I also expect that workplaces with higher levels of education will have more prestige and will be able to offer their workers better working conditions. Regarding the proportion of workers in a union, I would expect the union itself to have a positive influence on working conditions. However, having a union could reflect the workers' dissatisfaction with their working conditions, so a negative coefficient could be the result of a reversed causal relationship, in which working conditions affect the proportion of unionised workers.

Table 6.4: Multilevel models assessing the effect of workers' composition in SMOs on work hours, tenure and salary (Standard errors in brackets)

	Salary			Tenure		Work hours	
	Odds/ odds ratio	Exp (B)	Sig	Coefficient (B)	Sig	Coefficient (B)	Sig
Intercept	-7.528 (3.887)	0.00	0.026	8.991 (9.115)	0.162	49.995 (26.65)	0.030
<i>Individual variables (control)</i>							
<i>Education</i>							
BA	-0.027 (0.446)	0.97	0.476	-0.647 (1.085)	0.275	3.802 (2.742)	0.073
MA	1.662 (0.461)	5.27	0.000	-2.281 (1.139)	0.023	8.343 (2.619)	0.001
Gender (Man=1)	0.130 (1.401)	1.14	0.374	-0.005 (0.975)	0.498	2.376 (2.329)	0.154

Nationality (Jewish=1)	-0.279 (0.425)	0.76	0.255	1.458 (1.038)	0.080	-0.934 (2.477)	0.353
<i>Organisational variables</i>							
Education	0.493 (0.24)	1.64	0.020	-0.250 (0.537)	0.321	-1.16 (1.55)	0.227
Proportion of men	-0.222 (1.245)	0.80	0.429	8.626 (3.593)	0.008	11.551 (10.816)	0.143
Proportion of Jewish	-1.266 (0.933)	0.28	0.087	-2.454 (2.565)	0.169	-0.050 (7.371)	0.497
Proportion of union members	-2.325 (1.099)	0.10	0.017	-0.480 (3.137)	0.439	-7.753 (9.897)	0.217
Organisationa l level variance	0.420 (0.322)	1.52	0.090	6.710 (3.338)	0.022 (33.46)	88.040	0.004
N	151		198		198		
Model significance	0.190			0.040		0.008	

As shown in Table 6.4, weekly work hours are not significantly explained by any of the organisational level variables. However, the insignificant (sig=0.143) coefficient for gender shows that in organisations with a higher proportion of men the weekly working hours are higher, which is consistent with my hypothesis. Tenure has a significant relationship with gender. In organisations that have a higher proportion of men, the tenure in years is significantly higher when controlling for all other variables in the model. All the participants in the interviews and workshops I held, support both of these interpretations. In an attempt to offer explanation or to find a causal path, one interviewee commented on the suggestion that working conditions would be poorer in organisations with more women:

You know, it's the 'chicken or the egg' that I have no answer to. Is it that because associations have less money they have more women, or because it's a female area it has low salaries. I tend to think it's the first, it's an area that has no possibility of profit, of creating capital, you manage what you have, a-priori you don't have a higher salary, that's also why women... Men will get there less. Together with the fact that it allows women more progression and development, it's a double incentive: repelling men and also attracting women.

The participants in this research are aware of the literature, but they also speak of their own personal experiences and understanding. Here, both of these types of knowledge bring the interviewee to the same conclusion, of worse working conditions for women, in SMOs as well as elsewhere.

The odds of earning more than 7000 NIS a month are significantly and positively correlated with level of education, and negatively correlated with the proportion of unionised workers. This is also consistent with the hypotheses raised. Education has a positive effect on working conditions, while the establishment of unions could be encouraged by poor working conditions. Yet, despite the argument raised by the participants in the research and my own expectation, the effect of gender at the organisational level, though insignificant, suggests that in organisations with a larger proportion of women, the earnings are slightly higher. The sample size is too small to say this with certainty, but the most probable argument these findings raise is that the relations between salary and gender at the organisational level are completely explained by education. In other words, the reason organisations with a higher proportion of women have a lower proportion of salaries above 7000 NIS is that men have higher levels of education, making the education levels in these organisations lower.

This section has discussed the composition of workers in SMOs, finding that apart from percentage of unionisation – they all merit being included in more analysis aiming to predict working conditions.

6.5 Summary

In this chapter, I have explored the issue of inequalities within and between the researched SMOs. Its starting point was a critical examination of the way in which the SMOs' values are expressed or violated in their employment practices. These values

reflect both the universal values of equality and help to marginalised groups, and the particular values of the Israeli peace movement, which include a lively debate of gender issues and an ambition to help Palestinians. I first analysed the effect of gender and nationality at the individual level on working conditions, and then explored the effects of age, unionisation level, gender and nationality at the organisational level on working conditions. I used multilevel modelling in this exploration, controlling for the multilevel structure of the dataset when examining the individual level variables and controlling for individual level variables when examining the organisational level variables.

- *Are gender and nationality inequalities, which exist in the Israeli labour market, replicated in SMOs?*

I expected the gender gap to be sustained, based on other sub-markets that have been feminised (Mandel and Semyonov, 2006). When controlling for age, work years, work hours, tenure and education the results were mixed. At the BA level, men and women have similar predicted probabilities of earning more than 7000 NIS a month (about £14,000 a year). However, for those with an MA, men's probability of earning above this threshold is more than double that of women (0.75 compared to 0.36). The pay gap according to gender is, therefore, sustained in SMOs.

For Palestinians, my hypothesis was also correct, following previous research that shows that in sub-markets with a large proportion of Palestinians, their relative returns for education are better than in the general Israeli labour market (Lewin-Epstein and Semyonov, 1994). After controlling for the other variables mentioned earlier within a multilevel framework, I found that Jewish men still have better chances of earning more than 7000 NIS than Palestinian men, but these differences are much smaller than those measuring the gender gap. In fact, the analysis reveals a complex structure, in which Jewish men are the most likely to have higher earnings, followed by Palestinian men, Palestinian women, and finally Jewish women.

- *How do gender, nationality, education and unionisation affect working conditions at the organisational level?*

At the organisational level, four variables reflecting different aspects of the workers' composition were examined. These variables, all aggregated to the organisational level, are years of education, gender, nationality, and the proportion of unionized workers. I analysed the effect of these variables on three elements of working conditions: working hours, salary, and tenure. I also controlled for gender, nationality and education at the individual level. The gender proportions had a significant effect on tenure, where organisations with a higher proportion of men had longer tenure, suggesting these organisations have lower turn-over and more employment security (Standing, 2011). The mean education years had a positive relationship with income, expressing an inequality within the SMO sector between SMOs that use more academic knowledge and pay more, and those who do not require as much academic knowledge and pay their workers less.

The *proportion of unionised workers* was negatively correlated with the level of income, questioning the direction of causality and suggesting the effect of poor working conditions could have supported unionisation levels, rather than unionisation affecting working conditions. The *nationality proportions* did not affect any of the working conditions, suggesting that the individual level effect identified earlier remains at the individual level, and is not reflected at the organisational level. It is important to remember that this does not exclude any effect of nationality proportions in an aggregated level – it could have an effect on the specific working area (which will be discussed in the following chapter), or indeed on the whole peace movement in Israel as a sector.

This chapter has examined inequalities at the individual and organisational levels, and found a complex picture, which nonetheless produced important critical insight into the employment practices in SMOs. The following chapter will continue to examine organisational level variables, focusing on the professionalisation process.

Chapter 7: “Inserting a Business Mentality:” Professionalisation and Organisational Structure

7.1 Introduction

In many ways, the theoretical starting point of this thesis is the professionalisation process within social movements and SMOs. Since the 1960s, and all the more forcefully since the 1990s, social movements in general and SMOs in particular have become more professionalised, formalised, institutionalised and specialised (e.g. Jenkins & Eckert 1986; Oliver 1989; Staggenborg 1988). As explained in Chapter 3, this process has two salient implications specifically relevant for this thesis: It is a central factor in the formation of the organisational structure of SMOs today, and its manifestation includes the creation of paid work within SMOs. Despite its importance, it is yet unclear how the professionalisation process impacts working conditions. In other words, professionalisation creates a new type of employment, but what kind of employment is it? What are the trajectories of change that can be seen in the sample in this thesis? And perhaps most importantly, what changes might we expect to see more generally in SMOs as they become more professionalised?

Different definitions of professionalisation suggested by Social Movement Theory helpfully break it down into different components, including institutionalisation, bureaucratisation, and de-radicalisation (e.g. Tilly and Tarrow, 2007; Zald and Ash, 1966). Specifically, a Weberian approach that sees professionalisation as a form of bureaucratisation suggests a break-down of measureable bureaucratic mechanisms, such as formalisation of relationships, use of documents, and lessened personal influence on the organisation (Weber, 1946 [1919]). The ideas behind this empirical aspect of the Weberian approach rely on the transition from value-led rationality to instrumental rationality, a conceptualisation that is useful in explaining the process of change within SMOs. This view of professionalisation sees it as related to, but not inclusive of, budget and fundraising. In the SMO sector, the process of professionalisation and acceptance of market values is integral to the growing importance and existence of funds (e.g. Jordan and Maloney, 1997). However, I maintain that this is not part of professionalisation. The existence of funds could be an

incentive to professionalisation as well as an outcome of it, but not, according to the definition I use, part of it.

This definition was reviewed in Chapter 3 and is examined in detail in the following section. In this thesis, I aim to advance this definition of professionalisation and suggest a single scale for the assessment of an organisation's level of professionalisation, which is based on an empirical examination of the way these different components can be measured, and on how well they work together. This approach can test the Weberian theory of professionalisation and see if the different components indeed support each other and reflect a single element. In this analysis, professionalisation is a latent variable that cannot be measured directly as a concept, but is assessed through different measures. Using principal component analysis, I empirically test if and how these different measures can be used in the measurement of a single factor. Empirically examining the possibility of using these different measures to create a single way to measure professionalisation will allow me to propose a standardised way of measuring professionalisation in different organisations. The scale I constructed is used to compare the levels of professionalisation between the different SMOs, and to examine its effect on other variables.

Questioning the effect of professionalisation can be seen as part of a larger scale investigation, investigating the way in which organisational features affect working conditions. The previous chapter started this examination by first confirming that the organisational level has an effect on working conditions in SMOs, and then looking at the workers' composition in SMOs. This chapter, in turn, will look at the organisational size and structure, as well as the SMOs' work areas. I hypothesise that these factors have an effect on working conditions beyond what could be explained by only looking at the individual level.

This chapter answers the following question: *How do professionalisation and other organisational features affect working conditions?* Two research questions are therefore answered in this chapter:

- *Can a professionalisation scale be produced, and how does it fit the theory regarding professionalisation in SMOs?*

In this section, I present a scale of professionalisation that is sensitive to professionalisation definitions in theory as well as to the relations between different components of these definitions as they are represented in the data. This scale is later used to examine the effect of professionalisation or working conditions.

- *What relationships could be found between organisational level variables and working conditions?*

For this question, I expand my view beyond professionalisation and explore the effect of work areas and organisational elements including professionalisation, on working conditions. The following section produces and examines the professionalisation scale. Section 7.4 looks at the effect of work areas and questions whether the SMO sector is unified, or if there are significant differences between organisations based on the type of work they do within it. Section 7.5 explores different measures of size and budget, and Section 7.6 concludes by fitting a model that examines all the organisational variables together – including the workers’ composition that was studied in the previous chapter.

7.2 Measuring Professionalisation and the Construction of the Professionalisation Scale

In this section, I aim to develop my definition of professionalisation in a way that is both theoretical and empirical. I therefore use existing theory alongside an exploratory approach to principal component analysis, examining a series of potential variables from both these angles to eventually create a unified scale of professionalisation. This scale is later used to examine the effect of professionalisation on working conditions. The boundaries of what is included in this measure of professionalisation are defined by both the literature and the empirical findings. Specifically, elements such as organisation’s size and budget are, according to the approach I chose, closely related to professionalisation – but not part of how it is measured.

Tilly and Tarrow (2007) have defined professionalisation in SMOs as having two strands. One relates to the institutionalisation of the organisational formation, which includes a formalisation of work relations and regulations, and the other relates to a reduced level of conflictuality in the choice of goals for the SMO. This project only measures the first of these two related strands, by looking at various measures of the level of formalisation in SMOs, derived from the questionnaire of workers and aggregated to the organisational level by using the mean or median, according to the specific variable. Alongside Tilly and Tarrow's (ibid) conceptualisation of institutionalisation, I shall use a Weberian approach that sees professionalisation as part of bureaucratisation (Ritzer, 1975). This approach emphasises the growing use of bureaucratic mechanisms (Zald and Ash, 1966), including a clear division of labour and hierarchical organisational structure, as well as formalised training and use of organisational documents.

Zald and Ash (ibid) suggest a multi-faceted process, which they indeed present as diverse and non-linear. The core of this process lies in the organisational structure. I go beyond Zald and Ash's (ibid) focus on the division of labour, and also include other Weberian elements of Bureaucratisation, which are discussed later in this section. Alongside the transformation of the organisational structure, and part of the same goal of self-preservation of the organisation, is the SMO's recruitment of and competition over resources. The key element here is funding, and the amount of resources organisations invest into recruiting further resources (e.g. Jordan and Maloney, 1997). Seeing these organisational behaviours as a set of survival techniques highlights, again, the tension between the SMO's goals and intentions – and the practicalities it needs to engage with to meet them. Previous studies focus on the impact of professionalisation on what an SMO does and how it operates (e.g. Maloney and Grant, 1997; Jordan and Maloney, 1997; Lebon, 1996). Few, if any, ask about the impact of this for workers. My goal is to create a single scale of professionalisation that could later be used, along with other organisational level measures, to predict working conditions. I therefore only look at the elements referring to the organisational process – and examine them together with the SMO budgets in Section 7.5.

The first aspect I would like to consider within this framework is the **division of labour** within organisations,⁵⁰ which represents the degree to which roles are divided in a specific way. All the workers in the survey were asked about how the work is divided in their organisations, with the answer categories ranging from (1) “we have different roles and different responsibilities”, to (4) “everyone does everything”. Weber describes the clear, impersonal division of labour as a main cornerstone of bureaucracy, in both the first and the third points of his definition of bureaucracy:

1. The regular activities required for the purposes of the bureaucratically governed structure are distributed in a fixed way as official duties.

2. The authority to give the commands required for the discharge of these duties is distributed in a stable way and is strictly delimited by rules concerning the coercive means, physical, sacerdotal, or otherwise, which may be placed at the disposal of officials.

3. Methodical provision is made for the regular and continuous fulfilment of these duties and for the execution of the corresponding rights; only persons who have the generally regulated qualifications to serve are employed. (Weber, 1946 [1919]: 196)

As implied by his second point in this definition, a clear division of roles reflects this more standardised and stable state, rather than a fluid, unclear and personal division of labour that is less bureaucratic and less professionalised.

The answers from my survey question on the division of labour were aggregated by using the median. No organisations fell in the highest two categories (“everybody does everything” and “we have some roles, but share the responsibilities”). The aggregated organisational values range between 1 (“we have different roles and different responsibilities”) and 2.5 (half way between “we have some roles, but share the responsibilities” and “we have different responsibilities, but we help each other”), with most organisations (26 out of 32) having a median of 2 (“we have different responsibilities, but we help each other”). This range, which would not be surprising in many market organisations, indicates a higher level of division of labour than I expected to find. This result reflects the fact that all the organisations in this sample employ workers, so sampled SMOs have necessarily gone through some

⁵⁰ The division of labour between organisations is reflected in the choice of work areas, which was described in Chapter 2 and will be used as a measure together with professionalisation in Section 7.8.

professionalisation already. However, since there still is a range of answers across these organisations, it is interesting that only one organisation has a score of 2.5, and no organisation had a score of 3.

This level of hierarchy can be perceived negatively, with some organisations aiming to minimise it out of concern for the SMO's purpose and identity. Emphasising the importance of this measure, one interviewee described this as a substantial element differentiating between organisations:

It is important to differentiate between a hierarchic organisation that has someone who looks after the organisation's agenda, that can be a manager or a management team [...] and between an organisation that has no such thing, there is just everyone. Everyone arrives to the general assemblies, including the workers, and there is constant negotiation over this. I mean, if the workers are able to convince in the general assembly, it happens all the time [...] if the workers are able to convince, then that's what will happen.

This participant specifically displays an example of an SMO which puts effort into including all members and employees in the decision making process. This does not make the organisation automatically non-hierarchical. Even if all the SMO members attend General Assemblies – which is not necessarily the case - different factors related to group dynamics affect the ability of different individuals, occupying different positions, to affect decisions. This does, however, indicate that in some organisations, this structure is perceived as problematic and that hierarchy is not always seen as an integral part of SMOs, even in SMOs that employ workers.

The second aspect of professionalisation of work methods in SMOs is **training**. As standardisation is a key aspect of bureaucracy, standardised training is a key tool in the bureaucratic organisation – it is the only way to ensure workers perform their tasks in the same way. Furthermore, the development of systematic training is a prominent aspect of the historic development of professions as well defined sets of rules and practices which can only be learned from someone already practicing that specific profession (Abbot, 2014: 10). As discussed in Chapter 3, the professions discussed here could be the various professions workers have come to the SMOs with (such as lawyer or teacher), but could also be a professional social activist (Staggenborg, 1988) – a concept that is discussed in depth in Chapter 7. At this point, however, the level of

training is used not to measure the level of individual professionalism, but rather the level of organisational professionalisation.

I examined the mean of proportion of workers who have had each type of training in the SMOs. Being trained by a co-worker with the same position is very prevalent (mean proportion of 0.64), and so is declaring that the worker had no training (0.57). Notably, these two options sometimes overlap, and the same worker sometimes chose both in the same survey. When asked about their level of training, workers were asked to choose all the options that apply to them. The option of having had no training was last, and so some of the workers who chose one of the previous options also decided to state that, when looking at the full picture, they do not feel that they have received training. This statement means they do not consider the level of training they have received as meriting the title “training.” They often stated this directly, saying “actually, this statement is also true for me” when the option of declaring that they did not have any organised training came up. Training by workers with a different position had a mean proportion of 0.5, while having had use of written materials in training had a mean proportion of 0.33. The literature emphasises the importance of written documents in processes of professionalisation and bureaucratisation (Hull, 2012; Mansfield, 1973), which means this measure captures both training and use of documents. Finally, the least prevalent option was undergoing a training course, with a mean proportion of 0.12. This could reflect the fact that most SMO workers have already had training as part of their academic education, as well as in previous positions. The educational and occupational paths to working in an SMO will be further discussed in Chapter 8.

The final measure of professionalisation I would like to consider for the professionalisation scale is the use of **hierarchical structures** in the organisation. An integral part of the definition of bureaucratic organisation (Weber, 1946), hierarchical structures are another aspect of professionalisation. To measure hierarchy in the organisation, I asked workers about two different aspects of their personal experience: their level of control over their daily activity, and the effect they have over the SMO’s policy. Both of these measures range from 0 – no effect, to 10 – full effect. These personal means were aggregated to the organisational level using the mean of each of

them. In his research on European workers, Lange (2012) found means of 6.5 for control over daily activity, and 3.9 for influencing the organisation's policy. In Section 7.3.3 this is discussed specifically in the Israeli context, as part of the discussion of workers' motivation and satisfaction. Looking at the aggregated levels in the researched SMOs, the levels of control for SMO workers are higher than this, with 8.3 and 5.6, respectively. This also means that there is a higher mean of control over daily activity (8.3) than for ability to affect policy (5.6), similarly to Lange's (ibid) findings. This suggests that workers receive relatively high levels of freedom when it comes to their personal activities, perhaps because they are generally trusted or due to the nature of activity which is often individual. It also implies that the workers' influence over the organisations' policy is not as high, arguably due to those in higher levels of the organisation having more influence over organisational decisions. This finding is particularly striking in the context of SMO workers, since arguably, the aspiration to affect policy and create social change is an important aspect of joining an SMO. This is a good example of the way in which professionalisation of SMOs can have an effect on the relationship between SMO workers and the SMO, making them less activists who affect organisational policy, and more workers who merely follow it.

Table 7.1 present the correlation matrix of these different measures. While the individual level division of labour variable was ordinal, when taking its median I have increased the number of categories, so it is appropriate to treat it as an interval level variable for this (and following) analysis (Allen and Seaman, 2007). The variables measuring the proportion of training are coloured with white in the table. Out of these variables, no training is significantly and negatively correlated with training by someone in the same position and use of written materials for training, while the use of written materials is significantly and positively correlated with training by someone with a different position. Undergoing a training course is not significantly correlated with any of the other variables. Perhaps having a training course is a measure of specific tasks and positions rather than of the organisational structure or level of professionalisation. Additionally, using written instructions is negatively correlated with control over daily activities, while no training is positively correlated with control over daily activities. This suggests that the level of personal control inversely measures professionalisation: when an organisation is highly professionalised and has very clear

hierarchy and division of labour, the personal freedom of workers is, on average, lessened.

The variables measuring personal control over both daily activities and organisational policy are coloured in light grey. The personal control of workers over their daily activities is positively and significantly correlated with the ability to affect organisational policy, reflecting a common element of feeling influential and having a sense of freedom at work. Both of these elements are also positively and significantly correlated with the division of labour in the organisation. The division of labour in SMOs is coloured in dark grey. As the division of labour here ranges from 1 – “there are different roles and different responsibilities” to 4 – “everyone does everything,” this means that SMOs that have a clearer and stricter division of labour will tend to have lessened feelings of personal control and influence among their workers. This fits my expectations of less room for individual effects when organisations are more professionalised.

This loss of control over daily activities is particularly striking when considering these workers as SMO members, who chose to work in an SMO, at least partially, because they wanted to contribute to social change. Chapter 8 discusses these workers’ careers as activists careers, in which the organisational culture and goals are a significant part of workers’ decision to join, and stay, in SMOs. This sense of a deliberate, inclusive organisational culture decreases, to a large extent, as the organisation becomes more professionalised. Overall, the correlations matrix displays a complex picture of relations between the different variables, but to examine their relationship together, I need to go beyond the bivariate analysis of Pearson’s correlations and conduct a series of principal component analyses. This exploration is a useful tool and its generalisability is discussed further in this section, but an important limitation of it is that it only applies to organisations that already employ workers. In other words, the starting point of the scale I wish to create does not represent zero professionalization, since all the researched organisations are somewhat professionalised.

Table 7.1 Correlations matrix for the professionalisation variables

	Trained, same job	Trained, different job	Written guidance	No training	Control daily activity	Ability to affect policy	Division of labour
Training course	-0.234	-0.168	-0.058	0.129	-0.296	-0.313	-0.081
	0.197	0.357	0.752	0.481	0.099	0.082	0.658
Trained, same job		-0.232	0.101	-.412*	-0.031	0.104	0.124
		0.201	0.584	0.019	0.864	0.569	0.501
Trained, different job			.418*	-0.05	-0.087	-0.154	-0.065
			0.017	0.785	0.634	0.401	0.724
Written guidance				-.578**	-.503**	-.459**	-0.272
				0.001	0.003	0.008	0.132
No training					.396*	0.155	0.088
					0.025	0.397	0.631
Control daily activity						.723**	.485**
						0.000	0.005
Ability to affect policy							.637**
							0.000

To create the professionalisation scale, I wanted to look at the variables in a way that searches for a common factor in all of them, while allowing me to see the factor loading of each of them. Principal component analysis assumes that there is a latent variable that is underlying the used variables, or some of them (Jolliffe, 2005). Each of these variables takes a different role in the indication of that latent variable. For this scale, I followed an exploratory approach, aiming to examine which variables go together well, and would therefore make a coherent, understandable scale. I started with all the

variables that were presented in this section, and have explained my reasons for excluding some of them. Principal component analysis requires a constant balance between the quantitative results and the theory behind them. As such, when making choices regarding exclusion of different variables I have used both the principal component analysis indications and the logic and theory presented here.

After arriving at a suitable factor solution, I continue to create a scale that includes them. SPSS has a function of saving the results of this analysis (factor scores) that can then be used as a measure or scale. Though this option would offer a more accurate positioning of the various variables in the underlying factor, these scores are hard to interpret and offer less clarity. I therefore used the principal component analysis to find the best combination of variables, and then created a scale using a simple mean of the variables (after recoding them to take values between 0 and 1).

When examining the variables measuring training, the use of documents in training had the best fit with the other variables used in the building of the professionalisation scale. This question captures information about training in general, as well as information indicative of the use of documents in the organisation. To ease the interpretation, I have reversed the variable indicating the division of labour so that a higher score will be SMOs with more clearly and discretely defined roles. I have also used the variables measuring the level of control over personal daily activity and the level of influence over the organisation's policy to create two new variables. The mean of these two variables represents the workers' feeling of control and influence within the organisation, and the difference between them which represents the gap between the mean organisational personal freedom and the mean organisational feeling of influence on policy.

The result of this exploration is a single factor solution explaining 49.28% of the variance in the participating variables. In this model, the mean level of influence on personal daily activity and on organisational policy has the largest factor loading, pointing to it as the strongest representation of professionalisation (0.900). This variable has been reversed, which means that a higher mean will indicate a lower level of professionalisation. This corresponds with the notion that a more bureaucratic organisation will leave less room for personal influence, which was presented earlier

in this section. The second strongest factor loading is the division of labour (0.792), which stands at the heart of professionalisation, reflecting the suitability of the emerging factor for the theory discussing professionalisation and bureaucratisation, as discussed in this section. The difference between the control of daily tasks and the influence of organisation's policy (0.744), indicates both its importance in assessing professionalisation and its direction – the higher the gap is between personal control and organisational influence, the more professionalised the organisation is. Finally, the variable with the lowest factor loading in this principal component analysis model, which still contributes to the scale, is the use of training papers (0.608), reflecting training as well as the formalisation of communication in organisations through the use of documents. The reliability measure (Cronbach's Alpha) of these four variables is 0.614, which is considered acceptable and reliable even in small samples such as this (Yurdugul, 2008). I recoded them so that all the values are between 0 and 1, and used the mean of the recoded variables to create a professionalisation scale, ranging from 0.23 to 0.75.

To conclude, the professionalisation scale reflects both the information arising from the data, and the theoretical considerations forming the concept of professionalisation, and could have an effect on working conditions. How is professionalisation related to other organisational features, and how will the SMO's level of professionalisation affect working conditions? The remainder of this chapter endeavours to answer these questions in depth. However, to complete the discussion of professionalisation it is important to include the workers' views on it. Generally workers expected that more professionalised SMOs will have better working conditions, and described them as better organisations to work in. Interestingly, this is one of the points where my analysis has departed from that of interviewees, as I show in the remainder of this chapter. This interpretation represents the views I heard in the interviews and workshops regarding the possible effects of professionalisation on working conditions⁵¹:

⁵¹ This discussion happened prior to my analysis of the effect of professionalisation as it is measured by the professionalisation scale on working conditions.

It's an association, and a civil society organisation, and yet, inserting a business mentality in this specific area of hiring workers, to have structured processes, to look for the very best and all that.

Interviewer: Does this structure-based practice exist in other areas of the organisation's work?

Yes, in the attempt to accumulate information, and to insert this information, to try to document everything, to build organisational knowledge and memory so that we use this knowledge after people are being replaced.

Interviewer: How is this in terms of employment? Do you feel it is reflected in things like salaries, conditions, hours?

Relatively yes. Relative to civil society organisations yes, relatively. [...] I think the salary level is better than in other places, but also the form of having a pre-written agreement, everything is agreed upon in advance, everything is very clear, you know where you're going, what your duties are, what your rights are, later when the dynamics start working and people know you... they won't sit with me with a stop-watch and 'you don't have holiday days now and you can't go', there is more flexibility, but still. It's clearer and more structured and... better. Yes, when everything is clear it's better for both sides.

Interviewer: Than usual?

Than something amorphous...

Interviewer: That you experienced in other organisations (SMOs – M.K.E)?

Yes.

This interviewee, as well as the other participants who discussed this issue, suggests that in relatively well-organised, professional, stable and to some degree impersonal organisations – working conditions are better. He states that the extended use of well thought-out decision making processes and documents are clearer – and better.

Table 7.3 examines this view, by looking at the effect of the professionalisation scale on salary, work hours, and tenure separately, controlling for education, gender and nationality, which were discussed in the previous chapter. These models do not show a significant effect of professionalisation level on salary and work hours – but they do show a substantial and significant negative effect on years of tenure within the organisation. This finding supports the theory viewing professionalisation as bureaucratisation – as organisations become more professional, we would expect that

relations, roles and positions in them would become more formal and less personal (Weber, 1946) – and so it would be easier to replace a worker who left, and to employ workers for shorter periods of time. This effect of professionalisation on working conditions is not yet controlling for the effect of other organisational level variables, which could potentially interfere with it. Specifically, these models do not control for years since the SMO inception, which will be controlled for in section 7.5, and so it is not yet clear whether professional organisations may employ workers for shorter periods simply because they tend to be the newer organisations in my sample. Moreover, the organisation’s size and structure, as well as its areas of activity, could all intervene in the relationships in this model.

Table 7.3 Multilevel models predicting working conditions with individual level sex, education and nationality, and organisational level professionalisation (Standard errors in brackets)

	Salary			Tenure		Work hours	
	<i>Log odds</i>	<i>Odds</i>	<i>sig</i>	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>sig</i>	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>sig</i>
Intercept	-0.28 (1.06)	0.75	0.394	11.756 (3.044)	0.000	37.361 (8.69)	0.000
MA	1.84 (0.429)	6.32	0.000	-2.211 (1.099)	0.022	7.861 (2.684)	0.002
BA	0.15 (0.417)	1.16	0.363	-0.553 (1.072)	0.303	3.489 (2.602)	0.090
Gender (Man=1)	0.11 (0.367)	1.12	0.378	0.559 (0.935)	0.275	2.72 (2.276)	0.116
Nationality (Jewish=1)	-0.50 (0.362)	0.60	0.082	1.055 (0.944)	0.132	-0.739 (2.325)	0.375
Professionalisation	-0.69 (2.334)	0.50	0.382	-16.378 (6.735)	0.008	-14.055 (19.556)	0.236

Organisational level variance	0.43 (0.315)	1.54	0.085	7.025 (3.433)	0.020	89.643 (24.045)	0.000
Model significance			0.170		0.040		0.008
N	103			103		103	

The next section, therefore, expands the exploration of professionalisation through the introduction of other organisational measures and an examination of their relations with the organisation's level of professionalisation as well as with individual's working conditions. I look at three types of organisational variables: activity areas, workers' compositions within organisations, and organisational features. I conclude by presenting a model that examines these together with professionalisation, to see if the relationship found between professionalisation and tenure remains robust after controlling for these additional variables.

7.3 Activity Areas

Another key aspect of an organisation is what it does, or what area of activity it operates in. This aspect is highly related to professionalisation, as acceptance of specialised roles in SMO activity is part of the professionalisation process (Everett, 1992). The organisation's work area can also have an effect on working conditions and indeed on the type of work the employees perform. These activity areas were discussed in Chapter 2, where I argued that the variety of activity areas is a strength of this thesis, because it creates a larger range of organisations I can generalise the findings for. Next, I put this assumption to an empirical test, to see whether belonging to some of the work areas has an effect on working conditions in an SMO.

In Chapter 2, I reviewed the researched SMOs' activity areas. To further my investigation, a list of 12 activity areas was introduced. This included education, campaign, research, advocacy, culture, interaction, information, social centre, women/LGBT, community, work, and media. These areas were chosen because they had more than 50 workers, or more than 6 different organisations, working on them. However, to explore the work areas with the existing sample size and within a single analysis framework, this had to be further reduced. Using an exploratory approach

which included principal component analysis and a correlation matrix, I narrowed the list into four realms: **Community** including social centres, culture, community, interaction, and education; **Services** including legal work, the original services category, and work; **Action** including women/LGBT, direct action, hotlines, advocacy, campaign, information, and coalition; and **Media** including research and the original media category. Next, these four realms are explored and compared to one another.

As the previous chapter showed the importance of worker composition in exploring SMOs, I examined the gender and nationality compositions as well as the mean education years according to the four SMO work realms. I did so by comparing the proportion of men and women, as well as Jews and Palestinians, between organisations which belong to each realm, and those who do not. Results show that media organisations have the highest proportion of men (35%) and of Jews (79%), as well as the mean of education years (17.97). This reflects the high status of positions in media and research, as well as the higher demand for educational qualifications in those occupations. Action organisations have the lowest proportion of men (20%) and the lowest mean of education years (16.99), reflecting the field-based and direct approach these organisations use. Services organisations have the lowest proportion of Jews (39%), which matches the target population for these services – Israeli Palestinians, who often need and prefer services provided in Arabic. The division of SMOs to realms of activity is therefore useful in describing and understanding the worker population in these organisations.

Following the examination of workers' composition in the different realms of SMO activity, a look at the working conditions in them offers a more comprehensive picture of the different activity areas. I produced the median salary, and the mean weekly working hours and tenure years in the different realms of activity. "Community SMOs" have the lowest salary median (5500-7000 NIS a month, roughly equal to £11,000-£14,000 per annum in the UK), the lowest mean of weekly work hours (30.85), and the second highest tenure (5.62 years), which reflect a field that has a strong community base as well as community-targeted activities, in which workers work for longer periods of time but with less compensation. "Services SMOs" have

the highest mean of weekly work hours (42.21). This field is the closest to work being done by the public sector, which in many cases was privatised into the hands of SMOs (Marwell, 2004). “Action SMOs” have the lowest mean tenure (4.32 years), reflecting a field revolving around short-term projects, such as campaigns or specific collaborations.

As a last step before conducting multivariate analysis, I examined the levels of professionalisation in the different realms of activity, as measured by the professionalisation scale (ranges from 0 to 1). While “Media SMOs” have the lowest mean level of professionalisation (0.34) – perhaps because of the individualised nature of research and media work – “Services SMOs” display the highest mean level of professionalisation (0.43). This finding, together with the higher working hours in “Services SMOs,” suggests a substantive difference between different activity areas, which goes beyond their activity and affects their organisational structure and working conditions within them.⁵²

In addition to the work areas themselves, SMOs differ in the number of areas they focus on. In the studied organisations, the number of work areas ranged from one to nine, with a mean of 3.75. I would expect that the number of activity areas would be negatively correlated with the professionalisation level, as more specialised organisations will be more professionalised. The relationship between the number of work areas and the professionalisation scale is indeed negative, but it is weak (Pearson’s coefficient of 0.142) and insignificant (sig: 0.420). This could be due to the sample size of 32 organisations, and will require further research. Finally, to examine the effect of activity areas on working conditions, I constructed multilevel models predicting the three variables that measure working conditions: salary, hours and tenure. These models use the four realms of activity as well as the number of activity areas as independent variables, while controlling for the individual level variables gender, education and nationality. The results of this analysis are presented in Table 7.4.

⁵² The full comparison is presented in Table 17 in Appendix 4.

Table 7.4: Multilevel models assessing the effect of activity areas of SMOs on work hours, tenure and salary (Standard errors in brackets)

	Salary			Tenure		Work hours	
	<i>Log odds</i>	<i>Odds</i>	<i>sig</i>	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>sig</i>	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>sig</i>
Intercept	0.011 (0.752)	1.01	0.496	5.126 (1.624)	0.001	31.087 (4.071)	0.000
MA	1.929 (0.467)	6.88	0.000	-3.055 (1.132)	0.003	6.452 (2.833)	0.011
BA	0.149 (0.455)	1.16	0.371	-0.801 (1.116)	0.236	3.884 (2.807)	0.083
Gender (Man=1)	0.156 (0.398)	1.17	0.348	0.625 (0.986)	0.263	3.908 (2.488)	0.058
Nationality (Jewish=1)	-0.514 (0.403)	0.60	0.100	1.021 (0.991)	0.151	0.938 (2.488)	0.353
Community	-0.878 (0.766)	0.42	0.125	-2.188 (1.556)	0.080	-1.747 (3.898)	0.327
Action	0.486 (0.712)	1.63	0.248	-3.802 (1.368)	0.003	3.845 (3.418)	0.130
Services	-0.234 (0.676)	0.79	0.363	0.466 (1.278)	0.358	8.148 (3.211)	0.006
Media	0.609 (0.688)	1.84	0.187	2.328 (1.343)	0.042	5.282 (3.384)	0.059
Count	-0.14 (0.22)	0.87	0.261	0.726 (0.431)	0.046	-1.637 (1.081)	0.065
Organisational level variance	0.47 (0.35)	1.59	0.092	35.187 (3.519)	0.000	219.597 (22.07)	0.000
Model significance			0.180		0.000		0.000
N	103			103		103	

In the models presented in Table 7.4, the significant effects are a negative effect of “Action SMOs” on tenure (-3.8), while Services (8.15) and media (5.28) have a positive effect on work hours. These findings confirm the analysis presented earlier in this sub-section, with “Action SMOs” presenting the lowest tenure, and “Services SMOs” and “Media SMOs” having the highest working hours. Despite “Community SMOs” having the lowest median salary, once controlling for the other variables in the model, this effect becomes insignificant.

This sub-section has explored four SMO activity areas, and found that they are different from each other in their workers’ composition, working conditions, and levels of professionalisation. “Services SMOs” have the highest proportion of Palestinians, the highest number of working hours and the highest professionalisation levels. “Community SMOs” have the lowest education years and the highest proportion of Jews. “Action SMOs” have the lowest proportion of men as well as the lowest tenure. And finally, “Media SMOs” have the highest proportion of men, are the least professionalised and have high working hours. It is important to remember that all the researched organisations are at least somewhat professionalised, as this is a pre-condition to employ workers. The next sub-section will look at organisational features, including size and budget – before producing regression models to explore the effect of these elements on working conditions.

7.4 Size and Budget

An important issue in measuring the effect of organisational level variables on working conditions is the size of the organisations. Do bigger organisations have better working conditions? Are bigger organisations more professionalised and less personal? There is no one definition for the size of an organisation – different measures such as budget, number of workers and volunteers, and years since it started activity can all be considered partial measures of size. Therefore, I have decided to review all these different measures, aiming to provide a full picture of the concept. These measures have been collected from the Israeli Bureau of Associations, which only had information on 19 of the 32 researched organisations. This deepens the issue of non-response presented in Chapter 4, as it is not clear if there are any biases in the SMO’s choice to fill out the governmental reports for a specific year. This also means that the

sample size for these organisations is particularly small, which makes the likelihood of finding significant results smaller.

Organisations' inception years were discussed in Chapter 2. Section 2.1 provides a summary of the mean, median and standard deviation, showing that half of the organisations in the sample were established in or after 2011, with a range from 1983 to 2013. The relations between inception year, the organisation's size, and the level of professionalisation could operate in different directions. Newer organisations can be smaller, have fewer resources, and perhaps be less professionalised. However, more longstanding organisations could have preserved a less professionalised approach that characterised organisations before the 1990s. The Pearson's correlation coefficient of the relationship between these variables is weak and insignificant (0.112, sig: 0.540), indicating that starting year is not a useful tool to predict professionalisation in SMOs.

The number of workers and volunteers are other measures of SMOs' size, which were discussed at chapter 2. The mean number of volunteers in a single organisation is 161, with a particularly large standard deviation, 266, which suggests that there are many organisations with very low as well as very high number of volunteers. The mean number of workers is 21, and the standard deviation is 12.2. Is this measure of size directly and linearly related to professionalisation? The coefficient of the relations between the number of volunteers to professionalisation is 0.091 (sig: 0.710), and the correlation coefficient of professionalisation and the number of workers is 0.258 (sig: 0.162). Though the sample size is very small and it could affect the significance levels, these results do not indicate a relationship between these measures of size to professionalisation.

A measure derived by the number of workers and of volunteers, but with its own importance, is the ratio between the number of workers and the number of volunteers. An organisation in which most of the work is done by workers will be different from an organisation in which most of the work is done by volunteers both in its activity as well as in the kind of relations that are found in it. This is also hypothesised to be related to professionalisation. In their study of SMO marketisation Maloney and Grant (1997) describe the increase in numbers of workers alongside the decrease in the number of volunteers as a consequence of the professionalisation process. This

transition of SMO activity from being volunteer-based to being worker-based, has led to the creation of SMO employment on a much larger scale. The worker to volunteer ratio for the sampled organisations ranges from 0.01 to 8.75. I checked if this ratio is related to professionalization and the Pearson's correlation coefficient is very weak (0.035, sig: 0.887), which does not support the hypothesis of a relationship between professionalisation and the worker to volunteer ratio.

An additional, and very salient, way to measure SMO size is to examine its budget. Everett (1992) argues that the professionalisation process is both a result and a cause of increased amounts of, and dependency on, monetary funds. He describes the way in which available funds on the one hand, and the desires of activists to make themselves an activist career on the other hand, allow these activists to create their own SMOs. This description ties in the various elements of professionalisation from a Social Movement Sector point of view. SMOs are created at an accelerated pace, and their expertise becomes more specialised as they differentiate themselves from the existing SMOs and fit the world view of the activists creating them. Activists can then move between different SMOs that work on similar issues, enhancing the ties between different SMOs in the sector. These ties encourage a standardisation process, in which different SMOs learn from each other. The role of SMOs in enabling careers leads to a greater dependency on the organisation's survival, and on funds that will allow it to survive. The literature focuses on the need for resources for the SMO's survival and impact (e.g. Jordan and Maloney, 1997; Zald and Ash, 1966). But how does the amount of funds an organisation has impact the working conditions experienced by its workers?

I address the issue of budget from the two perspectives of income and costs. Both of these variables, as well as the number of volunteers in each organisation, are taken from the organisation's report to the Associations Registrar in Israel (2012). The mean yearly income is 2,769,996 NIS – approximately £460,000 – with a standard deviation of 2,000,000 NIS. The yearly mean of costs is a bit higher than that of income - 3,045,252 NIS, with a standard deviation of 2,752,942 NIS. I have calculated the mean of costs and income to achieve a more stable measure of budget. The mean of this measure is 3,281,372 NIS. I hypothesised, based on the literature presented above, that

professionalisation and budget will be closely related. This hypothesis is not supported by a bivariate examination. The Pearson's correlation coefficient of professionalisation with the SMO's budget is weak (-0.095) and insignificant (0.643).

Using both costs and income is important, as the two do not always match. In my sample, the percentage of costs out of income ranged from 34% to 299%. In other words, while in one extreme organisation the costs were triple the income, in another the income was triple the costs. This difference could reflect a problem with budgeting, but it is more likely that it reflects fluctuations in income and costs between different years. Unstable funding, which is often based on a specific project rather than contributing to the SMO in general, is a common issue SMOs face, particularly as they undergo professionalisation. As explained in Chapter 3, formalised and professionalised activities demand more funds, which then create more need for formality, specialisation, and in turn - professionalisation (Beckfield, 2003; Jordan and Maloney, 1997; Brown and Korten, 1989).

This instability can also have an effect on working conditions and on an SMO's ability to sustain long-term, well paying, full time employment. One of the interviewees expressed it clearly: "The organisations are always mobilizing money, and then they only have money for half a position, and then the money runs out, and they keep it on a quarter position, always flexible and fluid". This sentiment was echoed in the other interviews as well as in the workshops. One workshop participant clearly stated that workers in SMOs are willing to "absorb" lower salaries since they know the SMO's budget is low. This expectation of smaller organisations with lower budgets having worse working conditions is empirically examined next, first looking at every measure separately, and then using multilevel regression models to look at the measures together. My aim is to examine the effect of these measures of size at the organisational level on working conditions at the individual level.

First, there is a positive relationship between the two measures of organisational budget and individual salary (significance for both relationships: 0.001). However, my analysis does not show a significant relationship between the size of an organisation as it is measured by the number of workers (sig: 0.151) and volunteers (sig: 0.973),

and the workers' salary.⁵³ The relationship of the organisational level variables with working hours follows a similar pattern, with a significant and positive relationship between weekly work hours and the organisation's budget. I found a Pearson's correlation coefficient of 0.399 (sig: 0.000) between income and weekly work hours, and of 0.293 (sig: 0.000) between costs and work hours. Similar to the correlations with salary, there were no significant correlations between work hours and number of workers (sig: 0.596) and volunteers (sig: 0.387). Furthermore, tenure has a significant and positive relationship with both of the organisational budget measures: Pearson's coefficient was 0.243 (sig: 0.002) with yearly income, and 0.294 (sig: 0.000) with yearly costs. However, unlike salary and work hours, tenure was also significantly correlated with number of workers (Pearson's coefficient: 0.277, sig: 0.001) and with the number of volunteers (Pearson's coefficient: 0.195, sig: 0.006). In other words, lower turnover of workers is related to a higher number of people in the organisation.

These positive effects of the budget measures on working conditions confirm the expectations raised by the SMO workers, describing smaller organisations as being less able to offer good working conditions. This finding is in accordance with the literature describing the growing focus in SMOs on fundraising and marketing activities (e.g. Jordan and Maloney, 1997), needed to support SMOs' activity as well as its working conditions. It is also compatible with the attitude I heard in the workshops and interviews that SMOs would like to be better employers, but their budget does not allow it. One interviewee defined this issue as "the limitations of fundraising, the desire to do more with less..." The findings of this analysis support the claim that when determining working conditions in organisations, the budget acts as a significant limitation, or guideline, for the amount of money and hours workers can receive.

This finding has a particular importance to my thesis, related to the question of responsibility. In Section 1 of this chapter I showed that a substantial percentage of the variance in working conditions happens between organisations, compared to variance within organisations. One question arising from this analysis is the amount of choice SMOs have when it comes to determining working conditions. In future work, I hope

⁵³ The full analysis is presented in Table 18 in Appendix 4.

to be able to explore this question using data I collected from the funding bodies of the organisations studied in this research. However, these findings offer a preliminary answer, suggesting at least some of the choice is placed at the funding level rather than the organisational level.

Finally, Table 7.5 examines the effects of organisational year of inception, the worker to volunteer ratio, and budget on working conditions. This multilevel analysis controls for the individual level variables educational level, gender, and nationality, in the same way as the two previous tables presenting multilevel analysis in this chapter. None of the measures of organisational size have a significant effect on any of the working conditions, which indicates that the effect of these variables is not robust when controlling for other variables. This emphasises the need for further research on issues of funding and size of organisations, possibly using more data at the funding bodies' level, as well as data on additional organisations. Since the bivariate relationships of these variables with working conditions were positive and significant, I tried to find if this was caused by having multiple variables of size in the same model, which could cause problems with multi-collinearity. However, even when running the models with each size measure separately, they did not become significant. Notably, the worker to volunteer ratio has an effect on tenure which is borderline significant, suggesting that in organisations that are more worker-led, tenure will be higher than in organisations which are volunteer-led.

Table 7.5: Multilevel models predicting working conditions with organisational features (Standard errors in brackets)

	Salary			Tenure		Work hours	
	<i>Log odds</i>	<i>Odds</i>	<i>sig</i>	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>sig</i>	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>sig</i>
Intercept	-3.03 (1.68)	0.05	0.036	1.436 (2.359)	0.271	11.636 (9.255)	0.104
<i>Education</i>							
MA	2.11 (0.631)	8.22	0.000	0.548 (0.955)	0.283	9.102 (3.172)	0.002

BA	0.25 (0.575)	1.28	0.334	0.022 (0.891)	0.490	5.096 (2.096)	0.008
Gender (Man=1)	0.25 (0.566)	1.28	0.334	-0.57 (0.873)	0.257	4.45 (2.928)	0.064
Nationality (Jewish=1)	-0.82 (0.519)	0.44	0.057	0.577 (0.798)	0.235	-2.97 (2.757)	0.141
Start year	0.00 (0.001)	1.00	0.500	0.00 (0.001)	0.500	0.007 (0.004)	0.040
Budget	0.00 (0.001)	0.00	0.500	0.00 (0.001)	0.500	0.00 (0.00)	0.500
Volunteers	0.00 (0.001)	1.00	0.500	0.002 (0.002)	0.159	-0.008 (0.007)	0.040
Workers	0.00 (0.034)	1.00	0.476	-0.066 (0.05)	0.093	-0.263 (0.198)	0.092
Worker/volunteer ratio	0.03 (0.148)	1.03	0.417	0.437 (0.296)	0.070	-0.919 (1.112)	0.204
Organisational level variance	0.00 (0.00)	1.00	-	0.00 (0.00)	0.500	12.464 (12.83)	0.166
Model significance			0.999		0.999		0.330
N	103			103		103	

The following section offers a conclusion of the exploration of organisational level variables' effect on working conditions. I shall use all the variables examined in this chapter, together with professionalisation, in three models that aim to summarise the multiple issues raised in this chapter while offering further tests the robustness of the relationships found so far.

7.5 Conclusion and Unified Organisational Level Models

In the conclusion of this section, examining organisational variables raises some interesting findings. The first set of variables examined was the worker composition

in SMOs. I found that organisations with a higher proportion of men had higher tenure, and that education is significantly and positively associated with earnings. The second set of variables used four realms of SMO activity areas, created to reflect four non-exclusive types of organisational activities. I found “Action SMOs,” typically working on shorter-term projects, had lower tenure. “Services SMOs” and “Media SMOs,” on the other hand, had the highest working hours. “Community SMOs” did not have a significant correlation coefficient with the working condition variables in the regression models, but overall the four variables displayed an interesting picture of relations to working conditions as well as to professionalisation, with “Media SMOs” having the lowest level of professionalisation and “Services SMOs” the highest. This has raised the possibility that the set of activity areas of SMOs could be an intervening set of variables in the relationship between professionalisation and working conditions. The third set of variables, measuring size and organisational features, was the least successful in finding variables predicting working conditions in a robust way. Although the budget variables as well as the number of workers and volunteers were positively related to working conditions, these relationships did not hold the test of controlling for other variables. This merits more research, which is beyond the scope of this thesis. All of these interpretations should be taken as suggestions and in the context of the other regression models presented in this thesis, because the explanatory power of the models in Tables 7.5 and 7.6 is low, which is reflected in the model significance, and is due to the higher number of variables and relatively low number of cases.

After examining the effects of each set of organisational variables separately, they are examined together below. This allows me to see if the different effects found so far remain significant, and whether controlling for other organisational variables changes some of the relationships. Table 7.6 presents the findings of these models. After controlling for the other variables, **professionalisation** now has a significant and negative effect on salary, which is in contrast to the expectations presented by participants in the interviews and workshops, and yet fits the theory of professionalisation as a process of bureaucratisation towards less personal relations and personal control. The negative relationship that was presented earlier of professionalisation and tenure did not remain significant.

Table 7.6: Multilevel models predicting working conditions using all four sets of organisational variables

	Salary			Tenure		Work hours	
	<i>Log odds</i>	<i>Odds</i>	<i>sig</i>	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>sig</i>	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>sig</i>
Intercept	-9.896 (6.323)	0.00	0.058	44.583 (12.102)	0.000	2.88 (46.418)	0.475
<i>Education</i>							
MA	1.906 (0.541)	6.73	0.000	-2.253 (1.211)	0.031	8.979 (3.086)	0.002
BA	-0.084 (0.514)	0.92	0.436	-1.167 (1.231)	0.172	4.672 (2.9114)	0.054
Gender (Man=1)	-0.11 (0.495)	0.90	0.413	-0.253 (1.211)	0.417	1.244 (2.815)	0.329
Nationality (Jewish=1)	-0.182 (0.528)	0.83	0.367	1.22 (1.291)	0.172	1.494 (3.001)	0.309
Professionalisation	-19.007 (8.353)	0.00	0.011	5.303 (9.756)	0.293	-18.336 (29.275)	0.266
Community	-0.38 (0.897)	0.68	0.337	-2.181 (1.725)	0.103	-10.146 (5.722)	0.038
Services	0.519 (1.28)	1.68	0.341	-3.015 (3.034)	0.160	16.179 (12.002)	0.089
Action	-2.774 (1.308)	0.06	0.017	-1.973 (1.881)	0.147	5.511 (6.503)	0.198

Media	-2.429 (1.134)	0.09	0.016	5.335 (1.79)	0.001	8.351 (6.306)	0.093
Proportion of men	-3.945 (2.619)	0.02	0.066	6.587 (4.375)	0.066	-3.272 (15.812)	0.418
Proportion of Jewish	-2.046 (1.759)	0.13	0.123	-8.406 (3.962)	0.017	15.1 (14.161)	0.143
Education years	1.36 (0.623)	3.90	0.015	-2.205 (0.816)	0.003	1.258 (2.926)	0.334
Worker/volunteer ratio	-0.343 (0.24)	0.71	0.076	0.388 (0.393)	0.162	1.347 (1.183)	0.127
Organisational level variance	0.00 (0.00)	1.00	0.500	0.00 (0.00)	0.500	43.948 (25.482)	0.042
Model significance	0		0.999	0	0.999	2.975	0.080

Examining **work areas**, “Services SMOs” that had significant effects before, now have no significant coefficients. I believe this is due to the inclusion of professionalisation, which was a prominent feature of these SMOs. As for the other work areas, the control on professionalisation reveals some of the relations that were hidden before: “Community SMOs” have lower working hours, reflecting SMOs running within and from the community with a higher proportion of part-time positions. “Media SMOs” had significantly lower salary levels – revealed when controlling for the higher levels of education in media organisations – as well as longer tenure and working hours, revealed by the control for level of professionalisation, which is low in these organisations. “Action SMOs” also had lower levels of salary, possibly related to less funding stability in this area.

To examine the effects of **worker compositions** in SMOs, I consider both the individual and the organisational levels. When controlling for both these levels, gender does not have a significant effect on any of the working conditions. This could be

because the “action work area” includes the women/LGBT SMOs, and so controlling for it lowers the effect of gender. As to nationality, organisations that have a higher proportion of Palestinians have a significantly higher tenure, which could reflect both the conditions offered by the SMO – and the norms of career trajectories in the SMOs with higher proportions of Jews. The issue of career trajectories is examined further in the next chapter. Education has kept its significant and positive effect on salary and work hours at the individual level, and has a positive effect on salary at the organisational level, suggesting that the qualifications needed for work in a specific organisation have an effect that goes beyond that of the individual qualifications. Educational levels have a negative effect on tenure in both the individual and the organisational levels, suggesting again that in SMOs with a high level of education, the norms for career trajectories could be different and shorter term employment could be more prevalent. This particular role of tenure emphasises the importance of looking at working conditions as being determined by both the organisation and the worker. This notion is explored in the next chapter, which looks at workers’ motivations and career trajectories.

7.6 Summary

This chapter explored the effect of the professionalisation process on working conditions. To do this, I created a scale of professionalisation that considers theoretical constructs as well as empirical findings, and could be used to measure professionalisation in SMOs beyond this thesis. I have also embedded the examination of the effect of professionalisation in a larger scale exploration of the effect of organisational level variables on working conditions. I studied the effects of activity areas, and size of organisations. Finally, I examined the way these different levels work together to test the robustness of relationships while controlling for all other variables.

In the introduction to this chapter, I presented two research questions, which I aimed to answer. I first asked: *Can a professionalisation scale be produced, and how does it fit the theory regarding professionalisation in SMOs?* My answer to this question is yes – a professionalisation scale was created, using measures of use of documents in training; level of influence and control of individual workers; the difference between personal control of workers and the level of influence they have over the organisation;

and the degree of division of labour within the organisations. This provides an empirical confirmation for the Weberian approach to professionalisation theory, looking at professionalisation as a process of growing use of bureaucratic mechanisms and relations. This confirmation of the Weberian model suggests a systematic way to explore the transition from an organisation led by value-led rationality to one led by instrumental rationality. The following chapter shall examine these motivations at the individual level.

My second question was: *What relationships could be found between organisational level variables and working conditions?* These findings are explained in detail in the previous section. They raise concerns regarding the impact of the professionalization process, as it seems that working conditions do not improve, and are even worsened, with professionalisation. Working areas of the SMOs themselves are also useful in predicting working conditions. Due to the small sample size of SMOs this issue was only briefly explored, but it does merit further research. The variables examining the organisation's size and structure were not useful predictors of working conditions when controlling for other variables – this area requires further research using the funding level as well as the levels explored in this thesis, and a larger number of SMOs in the analysis.

While this chapter has focused on predicting working conditions with organisational variables while controlling for individual level variables, the next chapter looks at workers' motivations and their career paths, which can be seen as both the end result and the mechanisms of these findings.

Chapter 8: “I’ve Been Here Before”: Motivations, Satisfaction and Career Paths of SMO Workers

8.1 Introduction

How do SMO workers find these jobs? What keeps them going? What will they do next? In this chapter, I would like to try and find a framework that could help explain both entrance to, and remaining in, SMOs. In 1990, Braungart and Braungart studied 1960s Social Movement leaders in the United States. Their account, spanning decades based on life course interviews, explores the activists’ childhood (i.e. the time before they became activists), their time as movement leaders, and the decades since. Though my research does not have any such long-term claims, I do wish to use this approach, looking at SMO workers’ past as well as perceived future. This exploration started in Chapter 5 with the study of biographical elements that are part of becoming an SMO worker. It continued with the study of working conditions in Chapter 5, and the research of the characteristics of work in SMOs in Chapter 6 and Chapter 7. This chapter concludes by looking at SMO workers’ perspectives through their motivations, asking: *What motivations, logics, and circumstances drive SMO workers and how is their career structured?* Along these lines, this chapter answers two key questions:

- *What are the motivations guiding SMO workers, and what factors affect SMO workers’ levels of work satisfaction?*

Throughout the exploration of workers’ motivations, satisfaction, and career paths, I show that the workers’ considerations can be conceptualised as driven by two different types of logic: the social-ideological logic on the one hand, and the practical logic on the other hand. The balance of the two types of motivations exemplifies the workers’ position in-between activism and work as two ideal types of activity. This approach offers a picture of the workers as undergoing a process not dissimilar to that of organisations holding positions between value-led rationality – specifically social and ideological values, and instrumental rationality – namely practical career-related considerations (Ritzer, 1975). In Chapter 5, I argued that SMO workers have poorer working conditions than others in the Israeli labour market, and in particular less

employment security and income security (Standing, 2011), as well as lower earnings compared to those with similar levels of education. One hypothesis explaining the workers' choice to work in an SMO despite this would be that these workers are willing to sacrifice their working conditions for the sake of their ideology. In other words, the hypothesis I would like to discuss is that workers who could have had better working conditions in a different type of organisation, are willing to work in poorer conditions, because they see it as a way to promote goals which are personally important to them.

- *How continuous is work in SMO, and what career path can be drawn from this point onwards for SMO workers?*

Following the analysis of motivations and satisfaction, I explore the career element of work in the SMO sector. By looking at workers' plans before starting their job, and at the means of finding SMO jobs, I emphasise the continuity in an SMO career, and discuss the challenges of moving to a different sector. Through the concept of an Activist Career, I argue that the choice to work in an SMO is driven by both career considerations and an activist identity, shaping and even limiting the workers' choices.

Some of the analysis in this chapter compares SMO workers with the general population of workers in Israel. For these comparisons I have used two surveys, as described in detail in Chapter 4: the International Social Survey Programme 2005 Work Orientation survey (ISSP, 2007), and the European Social Survey 2010 round 5 survey (ESS, 2010). For the ESS, several different weighting variables were offered, including corrections for the survey sampling design, and approximations of the Israeli population (ESS, 2014). I have only used the weight offered for the survey design, to make the results comparable to my own survey that does not require weighting. However, I have tried the comparisons without this weighting as well, and the differences were all minor – the significance and direction of relationships all remained the same, and the estimations for the general population of Israeli workers only changed slightly.

The next section looks at workers' motivations and levels of satisfaction, examining them in the context of motivations and satisfaction in the Israeli labour market. Section

8.3 explores workers' career paths, suggesting the concept of an activist career as a way to understand these paths.

8.2 Maintaining Interest: Motivations and Satisfaction

In this section, I aim to offer a direct answer to the questions: *What are the motivations leading SMO workers? What factors affect SMO workers' levels of work satisfaction?* Looking at these questions together allows me to explore the subjective statements workers make regarding their motivations, and at the same time to look at the factors affecting satisfaction levels in a more objective way. As a way to understand why SMO workers choose to work in this sector, I look at them as in-between workers and volunteers, and consider both social-ideological and material-financial motivations.

8.2.1 Motivations

As a starting point to the exploration of motivations in SMOs and the factors that affect them, I compare SMO workers' motivations to those of other Israeli workers. As shown in Chapter 5, Israeli workers differ from SMO workers in a number of ways. I therefore use the comparison between the two populations as a way to contextualise the SMO workers' motivations, while not disputing the possibility that they could also take part, to varying degrees that could be subjected to further research, in other occupations and sectors. Before approaching work-related motivations specifically, it is important to see if SMO workers have a significantly different ideology compared to other workers. Workers were asked about their political position on a left-right scale, which in the Israeli context means first and foremost their stance vis-à-vis the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, but also includes, to lesser degree, more general human rights issues and financial policy. Unsurprisingly, there is a significant difference in the mean placement on the left-right scale of SMO workers and other workers: On a scale between 0 (most left) and 10 (most right), SMO workers have placed themselves very close to the left with a mean of 1.16, while the general population of Israeli workers have placed themselves closer to the right, with a mean of 5.68⁵⁴ (sig: 0.000). Another difference could have been expected - SMO workers are significantly more interested in politics: 65.3% of SMO workers are very interested in politics, while only

⁵⁴ Source for the Israeli population: ESS, 2010.

14.5% of Israeli workers have chosen the same category (Cramer's V: 0.366, sig: 0.000)⁵⁵. A sampling bias could explain some of this difference, but certainly not all of it. This strong ideological stance is the very element that could make SMO workers willing to accept less favourable working conditions for the opportunity to work for the goals they believe in, and comprises much of the ideological element in the social-ideological work motivations.

To examine work motivations more directly, I asked the respondents of my survey the same question asked in the 5th round of the ESS – ‘What is the main reason you put effort into your work?’ I found a significant difference between these two groups (Cramer's V: 0.436, sig: 0.000), which again follows the pattern we would expect, in which SMO workers choose reasons with a more ideological or social nature. It is important to keep in mind that workers were specifically invited to answer a questionnaire about their experiences as workers in SMOs, which could have biased their responses and made them think more about social and ideological motivations. However, my sense during the data collection was that workers had thought about these issues before the survey, and had strong ideas and feelings about their employment that were not likely to change following my questions.

Most notably, 44.7% of SMO workers chose being helpful to others as the main reason for their efforts, while only 11.1% of the general worker population chose the same category. The leading reason for Israeli workers' efforts was to keep their jobs (35.6%), while only 5.1% of the SMO workers chose this reason. The second most popular category for both SMO and other workers was to be satisfied with what they accomplish, with 21.3% of SMO workers and 18.2% of other workers choosing this as their main reason. For SMO workers, this was closely followed by their interest in the work tasks (18.8% for SMO workers compared to 9.6% for other workers). Finally, the third most popular choice for the general Israeli labour market workers was to get a higher salary or a promotion (13.9% of Israeli workers, compared to only 1% of SMO workers). These results represent SMO workers' preference for more ideological reasons – being helpful to others, as well as satisfaction with accomplishments and interest in their work. On the other hand, they show SMO workers' lesser interest in

⁵⁵ Full distributions are presented in Table 19 in Appendix 4.

keeping their work and getting higher salaries or a promotion. This does not indicate a disappearance of material-financial motivations, but rather a different balance of them with social-ideological motivations. In other words, despite SMOs acting as a workplace to their employees, SMO workers are taking an in-between position between workers and volunteers.

While telling me about their career paths and discussing their personal choices, the participants in the interviews I conducted discussed different formations of this balance of motivations for their own choice of workplace. One interviewer shared her own, and her friends', motivations for working in SMOs:

I know friends who used to work for different places, and they are willing to take a third of the payment and work for a social organisation – as long as at the end on the day they see the social change they want to see. [...] I think... If I love doing what I do, if the organisation is something I believe in and enjoy doing – I ask about the payment but at some point I just say – it doesn't matter. It's the thing I enjoy doing the most.

This quote demonstrates a prevalent feeling among SMO workers. They have to sacrifice their own working conditions to work in a place they feel ideologically comfortable with. The feeling of contributing to social change and the peace of mind of following one's own beliefs at the end of the day, make workers take a much lower paying position. This worker also describes how the organisation's goal – or “what it does” – is the main consideration for her when choosing a workplace.

This reflects the distribution of work motivations discussed earlier, showing that SMO workers prioritise helping others over issues of job security and other working conditions. In one of the workshops I held, a participant claimed that although work in SMOs provides workers with a sense of purpose and attracts dedicated workers, it is not substantially different from other organisations. As an example, she said she “knows some very, very dedicated preschool teachers who strive to help others.” This is a good reminder that while the statistics presented are useful in learning about the typical, or average, worker – the variance around them indicates they do not fully reflect the motivations of all SMO workers. While some workers do prioritise their working conditions, other workers could prioritise social and ideological goals.

Therefore, I now introduce other considerations that are taken in job selection, and show a different side to SMO workers' motivations.

SMO workers' in-between position, is useful in conceptualising the workers' disposition and their motivations for joining SMOs as well as to putting effort into their work. As part of the interviews and workshops, participants have explained some of the choices they, and the SMOs they are part of, have made. These explanations reveal some of the logics that express the balance of motivations and considerations I saw in the survey findings. In another interview, the interviewee described similar feelings that were expressed in the SMO's recent general assembly:

But the workers are very much aware, it's painful for them. In this general assembly one of the workers said that he sees his employment on the continuum between volunteering, and... He said that as a good thing. And then someone else, who disagreed with him, a worker that isn't happy with the working conditions, said I understand you, but I took it on myself to work in [SMO] because it has a certain identity, and I don't want to now change my identity.

These workers have debated the extent to which they are willing to volunteer parts of their time, effort, and potential earnings – as part of their choice to work in SMOs. This debate exemplifies the workers' struggle to balance their different motivations as well as identities. They believe in the goals of their employing SMO and are using them as motivation to be workers in it, but they also acknowledge their material-financial motivations. The need to choose between the two sets of motivations is perceived here and elsewhere as a challenge. The attempt to reach a balance between work and volunteering is also present in the SMOs' point of view:

We do try to give workers their rights, I'm saying try, we do give rights – and we do try to be as fair as we can [...] but yes. The price of full employment is the price of [...] the volunteers becoming redundant, and there is a vibe that is sort of nothing, and the workers become... You know, a CEO, and an office, and everything that comes with it. That's the price. I mean we live in some sort of attempts to employ fairly after all, but to also keep other aspects of our [...] identity. There is a conflict here. It is something we are aware of and it is something we do talk about, [...] we understand that there is a price to this form of employment, and we keep asking ourselves if it wouldn't be better to cancel it altogether. But of course then we could completely exclude women who without a salary wouldn't be able to at all...

This reflection of an SMO goes beyond providing working conditions that can be seen as being between work and volunteering due to budget limits. Here, the decision to limit weekly work hours (to not offer full employment, as the interviewee put it), is a way to keep the SMOs' identity as an SMO, and not to become a hierarchical organisation (with a CEO) that operates in ways that resemble a market organisation. The conflict between full employment on the one hand, and cancelling employment altogether on the other, is somewhat resolved by creating a new type – an SMO worker – who is intentionally in-between a worker and a volunteer.

In Chapter 5 I discussed the position of freelancers as one that means not only worse working conditions, but also a detachment I termed as not being counted as a worker. It is important to note that not being counted as a worker has consequences that go beyond mere working conditions, affecting a personal sense of security and belonging. To illustrate the possible effects of not being considered fully as a worker through the definition of a freelance, I looked at the differences between freelancers and monthly-paid workers in their agreement to statements regarding their personal relationship with the SMO they work for. The results show a significant difference between the groups in their agreement to the statement "I feel part of the organisation." While 71.4% of the Monthly paid workers strongly agreed with this statement, only 37.5% of freelancers belong to the same category (sig: 0.000). Similarly, while 61% of monthly paid workers strongly agreed they have personally developed in their organisation, only 37% of the freelancers strongly agreed with this statement. This difference was significant as well (sig: 0.009). I conclude that freelancers not only experience poorer working conditions, but also feel a weaker sense of belonging to the employing SMOs. As freelancers do not receive the same conditions as monthly-paid workers, this could have been expected. The survey phone calls indicated that many freelancers do not work in the office but from their home or elsewhere, and as indicated earlier, the additional work conditions such as pension and holidays are not paid to freelancers.

As presented earlier, there is a higher tendency for SMO workers to hold political and leftist views, and to be led by social-ideological motivations in their work. However, another type of motivation relates not to the current workplace, but to its role in forming the worker's career. I used the worker's assessment of the value of their

current work experience to finding another job, a measure that could be seen as borderline between motivations and satisfaction. Forming a successful career could be a reason to choose a workplace as well as to make an effort at that workplace. Yet, the question does not focus on the workers' choice process, but on their simple assessment of their workplace – and I have no data on their perceptions of the workplace before choosing it. Results show that SMO workers find their work experience useful in finding a new job: 87.5% of SMO workers stated it would be 'very helpful' or 'quite helpful', compared to only 78.4% of Israeli workers (Cramer's V: 0.114, sig: 0.014).⁵⁶ Although we cannot know how much of this reflects general satisfaction workers feel, or how this knowledge was used in choosing to work in an SMO, this result does suggest that social and ideological reasons are not the only factor motivating SMO workers in a way which is stronger than in the general workers' population.

To exemplify the how the motivation of furthering one's career is part of the decision making process of joining an SMO as a worker, I use this quote of an interviewee who describes his own career-related consideration:

I actually moved there because I wanted to change direction from education and move more towards policy change, and it seemed like a good place to start at, which I later discovered to be true. At first I thought I would be in [organisation] only for two years, but I am now there for seven years. It's a great place. [...] Less the connection to civil society but more just doing something that interests me and that I believe in. It seems like a place that opens up possibilities either in civil society or in the first sector, meaning moving to work for the government or the state.

Working in an SMO is described here as a way to advance towards other jobs. This worker has used his position as a way to change his career, and move into an area where he feels he could promote positive social change. When choosing his job, he considered the area in which he would like to work (policy), as well as the sectors he could work in, and he believes that his current position could lead him to a wide variety of positions within and outside civil society. As was discussed in Section 7.4 this view of the social movement sector as one that could lead to work in other sectors is not

⁵⁶ Full distributions are presented in Table 20 in Appendix 4.

necessarily shared among all SMO workers. Rather, changes of workplace occur often within the sector, and barriers exist to moving to other sectors.

In one of the workshops held for this thesis, one SMO worker openly discussed these barriers. Another participant mentioned the possibility of using work in SMOs as a springboard for other positions. The worker then asked: “a springboard to where?” The first participant replied saying the worker has managerial experience and could open her own business. The worker then asked: “So where will I go? To work in a clothes shop? Where can you go with that?” This debate, which was loud and felt emotional, shows both the expectation that SMO positions could lead to other positions, and the fact that, for different reasons, this does not always happen.

These findings reveal a mixed set of motivations. On the one hand, SMO workers demonstrate motivations which are different from those of other Israeli workers and emphasise practical (working conditions) considerations less and ideological and social motivations more. On the other hand, the expectations and lively debate regarding workers’ careers after their current employment show that practical considerations are a considerable part in this mix.

8.2.2 Satisfaction

Following the review of ideology and work motivations among SMO workers, I explored their level of satisfaction with their employing SMOs, before examining the different variables which are related to SMO workers’ levels of satisfaction. I compared the respondents’ answers to the general question of ‘how satisfied are you in your job?’ to responses of a representative sample of the Israeli labour market collected as part of the ISSP 2005 Work Orientations survey. While the top category, completely satisfied, presents almost identical percentages for SMO workers (25.6%) and the general Israeli labour market (25.7%), looking at the top two categories shows SMO workers are more likely to be completely or very satisfied (63.8%) than other workers (49%). This measure of satisfaction is an ordinal variable, and so I have examined this relationship with Cramer’s V (0.181) which shows the relationship is highly significant (sig: 0.000). However, because the satisfaction variable has seven categories, and since the sizes of the categories vary a lot in both directions, I have

also run a means comparison between the two groups. After recoding the variable so that completely satisfied is 1 and completely dissatisfied is 0, the means comparison (t-test) shows that the mean satisfaction for SMO workers is higher– 0.78 (standard deviation: 0.21) compared to a mean of 0.74 (standard deviation: 0.22) for the general workers' population in Israel. The difference is significant (sig: 0.05), which strengthens my argument of higher satisfaction among SMO workers.

One particularly interesting element of satisfaction is how appropriately the worker feels he or she is being paid, considering both efforts and achievements. I have compared SMO workers' agreement with this statement to the agreement in the Israeli labour market, using data from the ESS 2010 survey. Here, despite being paid less than other workers with similar levels of education and while the absolute levels of payment are similar, SMO workers are significantly more likely to agree strongly that they are being paid appropriately (Cramer's V: 0.147, Sig: 0.000). While 18.2% of SMO workers strongly agree that they are being paid appropriately, only 7.5% of all Israeli workers fall under the same category.

Supported by the findings of the interviews and workshops I held, I believe that this reflects the SMO workers' understanding of and empathy for the organisations' lack of financial resources. In a workshop, for example, two of the participants said that the findings related to unpaid overtime (which was discussed in Chapter 5) make them sad, because on the one hand they believe that all hours should be paid, and on the other hand it would mean that the SMOs would all have to be closed down. This statement, despite being dramatic, demonstrates the concern that SMO members feel towards the SMOs, and the view that SMOs only manage to keep afloat because of the workers' sacrifices. Another interviewee voiced the same idea, expressing frustration with the financial situation of both the SMOs and the workers:

We are supposed to be making a change. And when the financial situation in associations is so bad, the result, whether we like it or not, is that the instructors and the associations generally barely survive financially.

By describing the workers' and the organisations' situation as the same, this interviewee views them as being in the same boat. In Chapter 6 I have described the working conditions as related to the organisation's budget. I now complete the picture

showing that workers feel that the organisations are not being unfair or exploitative towards them, but that many of the organisations themselves are in a difficult financial situation.

To complete the picture of workers' satisfaction in SMOs, I asked the respondents of my survey to assess other aspects of their work, which can be seen as dimensions of work satisfaction. These aspects were not asked, to the best of my knowledge, in a representative survey of Israeli workers – they are taken from a survey exploring youth community activity conducted by Pancer et al. (2007), with the exception of the statement 'I have personally developed in my job,' which was written by me following my consultation with Shatil organisation when constructing the survey. All the statements had five possible answers, ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. To analyse these variables, I calculated the percentage of agree and strongly agree for each statement.

This analysis shows that 82% of the workers agreed with the statements 'I feel part of the organisation' (65.8% strongly agreed) and 'I have personally developed in this job' (58.3% strongly agreed). This suggests that expectations of gaining social and cultural capital in these positions are largely met. 72% agreed with the statement 'I feel my job helps make a change,' and 60% agreed with the statement 'my friends think this job is worthwhile,' both reflecting on the cause of the SMO rather than the direct benefit to the individual worker. These results represent not only a high level of satisfaction in SMOs, but also a strong personal relationship between workers and their employing SMOs, which supports the view of SMO workers employing social and ideological motivations in their choice of employer.

As described earlier, some SMO workers perceive their choice of workplace as accepting lower earnings and worse working conditions in exchange for work that contributes to them personally, by enabling them to support a cause they believe in. They are willing to volunteer some of their time or money, making it unclear where work ends and volunteering begins. However, this choice is often described as a conflict, or a hardship. The interviewees in this research provided examples of how they make sense of this combination. One interviewee, described her persistence in the SMO sector in these words:

I'm there because... Money definitely talks, it's totally the first. If I don't have money to bring home I'm in great trouble. I won't lie. On the other hand, I know today, that I can't – I can't work in something that isn't value-based, from my perspective. And contributes not only to me, but passes from me forward, to the world. [...] But it comes with a price: a price of very low salaries and lack of appreciation. [...] As soon as I got to the world of associations, to a values-based world, from my perspective, I can't go back out and make money for someone. Meaning that if I won't have a job I'll keep looking – for another association. Knowing that it's a world with no money. Which is horrible.

This interviewee presents her position in terms of not having a choice. She feels she must work in an organisation which is “value based”, and which offers a personal contribution to her and to others. In her interview, this participant describes a process in which she moved from a different career to a career in the SMO sector – which is termed an ‘activist career’ in the following section. Consistent with Crossley’s (2003) description, her disposition is now only suitable to work in an SMO. Following Crossley’s (ibid) use of Bourdieu’s theory of practice in research on social movements, this worker’s statement of knowledge – I know today that I cannot work in an organisation that is not value-based – is a loss of, or departure from, the *Illusio* that is at play in the labour market. This participant points to what many of the participants in the survey, the interviews, and the workshops expressed – that the change they would like to see in relation to their employment is mainly that the SMOs would have more money. This, again, enhances the view of the organisations and their workers as suffering from the same situation (of lack of money) – and not of having an exploitative employee-employer relationship.

The only statement in this set of questions with a lower median, of ‘agree and disagree’, is ‘this work has led me to explore new career opportunities’. Only 44% of the surveyed workers agreed with this statement, and some of the respondents commented on it saying it was not relevant to them. Following the responses to this item in the survey, I believe this is because when workers started working in the SMOs, they already had a clear idea of their chosen career path, and did not need their time in the SMO to explore career opportunities. This supports my earlier suggestion that SMO workers take their career path into consideration when choosing to work in an SMO.

To conclude, this sub-section has offered a review of SMO workers' satisfaction levels. In general, SMO workers are satisfied with their employing SMOs. They wish these SMOs had more money. They feel a sense of solidarity with them, and choose to volunteer their time and potential income for their ideological and social motivations. However, this is not done lightly, and workers do consider this lesser consideration of their material-financial motivations, or needs, to be a conflict. In other words, the importance of the social movement's goals is not enough for the workers to forego their wish for better working conditions. As I argue in Section 8.3, this emphasises the merits of the term activist career, which includes career goals and development. The following sub-section will look at motivations and satisfaction together.

8.2.3. Motivations and Satisfaction

As part of my examination of motivation and satisfaction among SMO workers, I looked at the different dimensions of satisfaction and motivation together. Table 8.1 shows correlations between the different satisfaction statements and the worker's answer to the more general question on satisfaction. As can be seen in the table, all of these variables, except for the statement on exploring new career opportunities, are positively and significantly correlated with general satisfaction levels. Furthermore, I found an insignificant relationship between choosing 'helping others' as the main reason for putting effort into work, and the level of workers' satisfaction (sig: 0.352). This, again, suggests that there are other considerations to working in an SMO apart from the ideological motive of promoting positive social change.

Table 8.1 Spearman's correlations between level of satisfaction and other dimensions of satisfaction

	<i>Spearman's correlation</i>	<i>Sig. (2-tailed)</i>	<i>N</i>
How valuable experience from job	.325**	0.000	199
Feel part of organisation	.439**	0.000	198
My friends think this job is worthwhile	.270**	0.000	196
I feel my job helps making a change	.451**	0.000	198
This work led me to explore new career opportunities	-0.014	0.845	197
I personally developed in this job	.322**	0.000	198
Feel I am getting appropriate payment	.212**	0.003	197

Before turning to examine the relations of working conditions and organisational variables with satisfaction and motivations, I compared the level of influence workers feel they have over their daily activities at work and over organisational decisions between SMO workers and Israeli workers in general, using the ESS 2010 data. These variables were discussed in Chapter 7 (Table 7.1), but not compared to others in Israel. Both variables have been measured on a scale between 0 – no influence, and 10 – full influence. As one might expect, the level of influence over the workers' daily work is significantly higher among SMO workers, with a mean of 8.3 compared to 5.6 among the general population of Israeli workers (sig: 0.000). The difference between the level of influence on the organisation's decision among SMO workers (5.6) and among other workers (5.1) is significant too (0.036), but much smaller. This is interesting, given the workers' feelings of a strong relationship with the organisation, as described above. As pointed out by some of the respondents to the survey, this could reflect a feeling that since all the workers in the organisation have a similar ability to affect its decisions, the relative influence of each of them is not perceived as very high.

Table 8.2: Spearman's correlations between level of satisfaction and organisational variables

	Spearman's correlation	Sig. tailed)	(2- N
<i>Individual level variables</i>			
Control over daily work	-.170*	0.016	199
Control over org policy	-.366**	0.000	199
Division of labour	0.036	0.615	199
How organised	.343**	0.000	197
<i>Organisational features</i>			
Organisation's starting year	0.074	0.300	199
Number of volunteers	0.019	0.831	135
Number of workers	-0.091	0.204	196
<i>Working conditions</i>			
Salary	0.059	0.411	199
Organisation level	.174*	0.014	199
Division of labour	0.000	0.999	199

After exploring the satisfaction and motivation of SMO workers, I examined two types of factors, which could be correlated with them and that have been explored in previous chapters. The first is organisational aspects, and the second is working conditions. Table 8.2 shows the Spearman's correlation coefficients between organisational variables and the personal level of satisfaction for workers. The organisational variables, their measures, and distributions, are presented in Chapter 7. The individual worker's assessment of their own work – their influence on their daily activities and on the organisation – is significantly correlated with their level of satisfaction. Since the level of satisfaction is coded so that the highest satisfaction is

1, this means that workers who feel they have more influence are also more satisfied. The worker's view of how organised their organisation is also has a positive and significant relationship with their general level of satisfaction. However, the workers' view of the division of labour in their organisation is not correlated with their satisfaction. In the organisational level, apart from the aggregated measure of the level of organisation in the SMO, none of the measures of the organisation's starting year or size, and none of the measures of working conditions are significantly correlated with satisfaction. I conclude that workers' satisfaction is related to their perception of their personal position within the organisation as measured by their influence, and to their perception of how well the organisation is managed.

Finally, Table 8.3 examines the relations between working conditions and the worker's level of satisfaction. Interestingly, no significant relations were found with any of the working conditions measured – salary, work hours, or years of tenure. The difference between being employed monthly or as a freelancer was also tested, and found to be insignificant (sig: 0.198). One way to interpret this finding is that since, as discussed in section 8.2.1, the motivations leading SMO workers are mainly professional and ideological – they do not focus as much on their working conditions, and do not connect their sense of satisfaction with their workplace with these working conditions. This finding is surprising given the dissatisfaction with working conditions that was expressed in the interviews and workshops I conducted. One interviewee discussed a manager in an SMO the interviewee worked for before her current position:

The manager there, she thinks that activism isn't work. That being in an SMO shouldn't be your main job. She wants people to come because they want to. But if you're not rewarding this person as a worker, why would he keep working for you? He will go somewhere else where he will be rewarded. [...] She thinks activism should be an additional job and not the main one. But I think she is underestimating the things they do. People feel they need to be rewarded financially, you have no other way of rewarding them. If you're not rewarding them it means you don't appreciate what they are doing. [...] Many people look at social change as a thing that doesn't need to... to be rewarded. In some ways that's true. I volunteer in a different association so I don't expect money. But once I decided to work here then I am expecting it.

This worker expresses the conflict that comes with SMO workers' positions as in-between workers and volunteers. On the one hand, she mentions the importance of

following ideological motivations and the place they have in SMO work, which she refers to as activism. On the other hand, she criticises an employer for not considering both types of motivations, and neglecting monetary motivations. Financially rewarding SMO workers is presented here as a form of appreciation for the worker, revealing the tight connection between both types of conditions: hours, payment and tenure on the one hand, and a connection to the association, belief in its cause, interest and a feeling of helping others on the other.

Table 8.3 Working conditions and satisfaction among SMO workers

	<i>Spearman's coefficient</i>	<i>Sig. (2- tailed)</i>	<i>N</i>
Salary	-0.017	0.808	199
Weekly work hours	-0.001	0.994	197
Tenure	-0.101	0.155	199

While the in-between position of SMO workers can be perceived as a conflict, it is also an important tool for the organisations, which the SMOs aim to sustain. One interviewee explained the complex set of considerations an SMO takes into account when deciding on the working conditions it would offer its workers:

We see [this form of employment] as something on the continuum of activism, volunteering – some call themselves activists, some are board members⁵⁷, salaried workers [...] we are trying to keep a lack of hierarchy, to prevent accumulation of power, to distribute knowledge and authority, and it's true that there are workers, it is especially prevalent with the new workers that when they come in they are not a part of the organisation, that for them the whole interaction with [SMO] is still of employer and employees, and many times, for example we have a discussion about this issue right now in the organisation, is coming to general assemblies a part of work yes or no, and if it should be counted in the hours. And then come the questions of: is this over time? Is it not over time? Is everything I do that's related to [organisation] my working hours or is it only what I do for the project I am paid for? Because it's a workplace that has many different things going on at the same time. And the fact I am

⁵⁷ This refers to the seven non-paid board members, which every Israeli association is required to have by law.

employed, for example, as a coordinator in [a specific area], and now I feel like joining a team that works on a campaign related to I don't know... Let's say [another area], then obviously what you are not doing within your main project, the majority will basically not see that as part of your work. But maybe new workers would, because they still experience [SMO] as a place that is mainly an employer and not a place of activism.

The aspiration to sustain the SMO as a “place of activism” is seen here as key to the organisation's non-hierarchical, feminist identity. Having workers who are on a continuum between workers and volunteers is perceived as a means to this end structure. If workers, volunteers, and committee members all feel like they are activists, it assists the SMO's task to create equality in resources such as power, authority and knowledge. It could prevent distributing very different tasks to different types of SMO members and enable a more equal and open communication in the SMO. The interviewee is aware of the challenges that accompany this aspiration, and describes the reflective and self-aware work of the organisation to solve these issues.

A more critical look could, however, question the kind of working conditions this approach creates. In this organisation, positions are part-time and with limited tenure, to sustain the volunteering or activism element of SMO work – a good example of how the blurred boundaries between work and volunteering in SMOs can be viewed as a conflict between value-led rationality – following the wish to maintain the organisation's identity – and instrumental rationality, which could lead, perhaps, to better working conditions. The discussion on whether to pay for hours spent on activism is, by itself, an expression of professionalisation. Activities that would be perceived as activism now move to a grey area, where it is unclear if they are work or volunteering. Another interesting element in this description of the in-between situation is the specific attention given to new workers, who may not see themselves as activists yet. This perception of workers becoming activists during their work in the SMO could be seen as a description of an activist career in process. This is discussed in depth in the following section.

In this section I reviewed the motivations and satisfaction levels in SMOs, and compared them to the general labour market when possible. This review revealed a complex picture, in which workers are largely motivated by social and ideological reasons, as I expected, and yet other considerations are motivating them, specifically

the place their current work plays within the larger scheme of their careers. The next section explores SMO workers' career paths, and suggests a theoretical framework to explain the choice to join, and stay in, the SMO sector.

8.3 The Activist Career

I am not in a place where I can work for a governmental organisation, or the state [...] it's not the money, I'm against so many things they do, how could I be in this system? Especially when it doesn't give you any scope for change.

This worker finds it hard to work in the public sector having worked in SMOs, including campaign work, which protested against the way the state of Israel operates. As mentioned in Section 7.2, Crossley (2003) suggests that taking part in social movements can create or encourage a 'radical habitus', implying a deep, durable change in the individual's perceptions, behaviours, and identity. This politicizing effect, which can be seen, for example, in McAdam's (1992) research, affects various life domains, including occupational choices. In other words, regardless of the inclinations, career plans, and social position with which an SMO worker enters the SMO sector, being in this field could affect her habitus.⁵⁸ The tendency to stay in the sector therefore stems from two sources: the factors that led the worker to the SMO sector, and her positioning in the sector itself. Crossley (2003: 50) does mention the term career in passing, but claims that theorising it in terms of habitus is appropriate as it lends an element of stability to the term. When it comes to work in SMOs, this stability could be seen as taking us back to the 'old' meaning of careers – a long-term attachment between a worker and one or two work places (see: Super, 1975), however in this case the attachment is to the SMO sector.

In this research, the activists demonstrate to a large extent an *activist career*. Staggenborg (1988) used this term to describe the career path characterising the professional activist, but it was not further developed. She offers a typology of social movement leaders as *professional managers* who "are likely to move from one SMO to another and from movement to movement over their careers" (ibid: 586), and *nonprofessional leaders*, who can be either paid or unpaid. She emphasises that those

⁵⁸ This is a circular process, which includes the field affecting the Habitus and vice-versa (Bourdieu, 2007).

nonprofessional leaders who are paid, are “compensated for some or all of their time, but are not career activists” (ibid: 587). Corrigan-Brown (2011) also points to the importance of different engagement patterns of SMO members, including a pattern of transferring between SMOs, but this understanding is not implemented specifically for SMO workers. The key finding in this context is that for 42.3% of the workers I surveyed, their previous job was also in an SMO. Due to time constraints I only asked about the previous job, and not about positions they held before that, so the number of workers who have worked in an SMO before could be even larger.

The concept of an activist career - a series of SMO jobs leading to one another through experience and networks - ties in with the perception of SMO professionalisation, in which activists’ boredom and burnout create a need for a paying and professional organisational form, leading to activists performing tasks for limited time periods (Tilly and Tarrow, 2007); with the protean, boundariless career which is characterised by not one or two jobs during a worker’s career, but a series of jobs in which the worker enhances his or her skills, knowledge, and experience (Rodrigues and Guest, 2010; Sullivan and Baruch, 2009).

Everett (1992) considers an activist career as a way for activists to make their activity into a career. As mentioned in Chapter 7, he describes a meeting point of two motivations – the activist wanting to create him- or herself a career, and funding becoming available – which drives forward the development of activist careers, as well as the professionalisation process of the Social Movement Sector:

This professionalisation is traced to two sources: the desire of activists of the 1960s to make careers of social change work and the increased pool of monetary resources [...] This increase in available funding purportedly lessened the need of activists to link their Careers to a particular organisation or movement and allowed a subset of these activists to become movement entrepreneurs, engaged in the manufacture or organisation of new grievances and issues. (Everett, 1992: 959)

This view of an activist career focuses on activist leaders, in a way that is similar to, and indeed draws explicitly on, Staggenborg (1988). It seems very relevant for the group of activists and SMOs in question – those in the US after the 1960s – but is it still relevant for today’s diverse social movement sector, with its blurred boundaries

with both the state and the market? I argue that the activist career concept can be used in a broader way, to acknowledge the careers prevalent in the SMO sector, and so are relevant for all SMO workers and not just to movement leaders.

The strength of conceptualising SMO workers' path as an activist career lies in the traditional perception of career as a linear path that includes a sense of progress and professionalisation over time. This does not necessarily apply to any SMO activist, but when researching workers it is helpful in order to not lose sight of the working conditions, which are part of an activist career. An example of this perception, as well as the prevalence of this career type can be found in the answer of this interviewee:

Interviewer: What do you think about the finding that most workers in SMOs have worked in SMOs before, and that most of them were sure or considered as likely possibility that they will work in an SMO when they looked for a job?

That it's an occupation by its own right. We define our occupation as 'human rights workers,' as a common definition for lawyers, social workers, educators and other occupations. It's also because of the networking that is created in the sector, and also the understanding of the language and the organisational codes. And of course the accumulated relevant experience.

This interviewee describes the mechanism through which workers transition between different positions, SMOs and movements as including both the accumulation of experience, and the accumulation of social ties. He also lists the different components of what makes an occupation, or a career, more specifically the common identity reinforced by having a common name – human rights workers; the networking between different workers within and between organisations; the organisational language and codes; and the accumulated professional knowledge. This perception aligns with the Weberian definition of professionalism that emphasises the specific norms and standards related with each profession (Ritzer, 1975). Finally, this description states, with some pride in the interviewee's voice, that "human right workers" is a career in its own right – albeit diverse. While defining this line of occupation, the interviewee does not refer to any special values or characteristics of this career besides its diversity, which places it on a similar level to the other careers listed in the quote. The quote goes even further to describe Israeli SMOs as a sector, enhancing the sense of a well networked and specific set of organisations which allows the creation of an activist career. Notably, this description lacks any mention of the

values and motivations behind being an activist – though these are implied in the term human rights. This emphasis on instrumental rationality exemplifies the level of professionalisation in the researched SMOs, and the way in which the term activist career is useful in understanding work in a field undergoing professionalisation. Thinking through the concept of an activist career allows seeing the importance of the organisational norms and of networking opportunities as means of structuring a career, and maximising the job security as well as income security of workers (Standing, 2011).

An important element of the activist career is the level to which it is planned and intentional. *Is work in SMOs usually planned, or is it something that happens by coincidence?* I answer this question using the respondents' answer to the question: "A year before you started working in your current position, did you expect to work in an SMO?" 44% of the respondents were sure that their next job would be in an SMO, and a further 35% considered it as a likely possibility. Only 18% of the respondents did not consider working at an SMO at all – which indicates they did not plan moving into the SMO sector for at least a year. In other words, whether they chose it willingly or felt this was their only option – most workers have made their choice at least a year before starting their current position. This number includes those who were working in another SMO, which could heavily influence their choices as well as their occupational options.

Another element in the career paths of SMO workers is the closely knit network in which they operate. In his work researching the relationship between social capital and the labour market, Granovetter (1973) claimed that having a large social network comprised of weak social ties is the best recipe to find a job, directing attention to the crucial role of social networks in building careers. I asked the respondents of my survey how they found their current position (and allowed them to choose all the options that applied to them). The most popular answer was through a friend or an acquaintance (59.5%), demonstrating the effectiveness of social networks in finding a job in SMOs. Finding the position through a job advert fell 21 percentage points behind finding it through a friend or an acquaintance (38.5%). Working and/or volunteering in another organisation, volunteering in the same organisation, and working in the

same organisation were all chosen by more than a fifth of the respondents (30%, 22%, and 21%, respectively). Previous research has shown that volunteering is positively related to having social capital – or a larger amount of social ties (Minkoff, 1997). As SMO workers can be viewed as in-between workers and volunteers, studies showing the importance of social capital for each of these elements are particularly relevant. Moreover, this finding supports the idea of the activist career of SMO workers, who build a career path in which one SMO position (either paid or unpaid) leads to another.

An example of this can be found in the following description, of how networking between both organisations and between people promotes finding jobs for those with contacts, or social capital:

I started to work in [social organisation]. I saw they were looking for a [position], I started working there and I worked there [...]. In between I worked in [another organisation], I worked as freelance, [a different position]

Interviewer: Because the jobs you were doing were not full time so you had to supplement...?

Yes, yes. Yes, not only – both. I was interested to be there, a friend of mine worked there and he suggested I'll apply, and I applied and they offered me the job."

In this example, one job supports and enables the other – which offers another aspect for the large proportion of part time positions. They encourage workers to work in several SMOs at the same time, and so strengthen the connections between these SMOs. Another example provides a more detailed description of how these contacts were created:

I got to know many organisations, through the job (in an SMO – M.K.E.) and I also worked as a contact for many organisations that wanted to work in my hometown. So I was kind of a freelancer for them, organizing workshops, etc.

This description suggests that the nature of SMO work involves cooperation between organisations, another factor supporting the creation of a closely knit network.

A different aspect of these ties between both workers and organisations can be seen by analysing the volunteering and activism that surveyed workers engage with. This analysis shows that more than 50% of my sample are volunteering or doing activism for another organisation (56% in total: 46.5% only for another organisation and 9.5%

for their own organisation and another organisation). This is a high percentage, especially since volunteering percentages in Israel are relatively low, with only 27% of the population who currently volunteer (Dialogue, 2014). This relationship, which is not only between different individuals, but between the individuals and associations, has been studied by Putnam (1995), who stresses the importance of social capital, relationships between individuals, and mutual trust for the existence of a healthy civil society. Diani (2013) describes the two distinct yet related aspects of this relationship, namely networks in social movements as a precondition for mobilisation, and also as a consequence of collective action, generated by the increasing amount of SMOs sharing common goals. These high proportions of volunteering therefore help to place the researched SMO workers closer to the ideal type of a volunteer than other workers, reinforcing the argument that they occupy a distinct niche within the labour market.

One element that is specific, though not unique, to the case of the Israeli peace movement, is the stigma attached to work in these SMOs. The public view of the peace movement, which was discussed in Chapter 2, adds to the difficulty of using employment in peace and anti-occupation SMOs as a stepping-stone to the next job. One interviewee expressed this:

[Organisation], you have to remember, is being persecuted, and it's not something, I'm sorry I'm being a bit dramatic but... [Describes the various ways in which the SMO has been harassed by the state of Israel] I mean it's not something that someone [...], it's not something you would put in your CV.

The persecution described here is extreme, and implies that moving from work in this SMO to work in the first sector – to being employed by the state of Israel, which is harassing the SMO – would be difficult. In this case, beyond the motivations of staying in the SMO sector, the possibility of moving from it to a different sector could be limited, and better described in terms of fear or aversion of another sector.

To conclude, this section has offered a more specific use of the term activist career, using it to bridge elements of work and of volunteering (and activism) among SMO workers. It describes the creation of a 'radical Habitus' (Crossley, 2003) before and during the period of work in SMOs, which encourages workers to stay within the SMO sector even when they move on to a new workplace. The activist career is fortified by

factors pulling SMO workers to SMOs, as well as by factors that make it harder for them to move to different sectors. These factors, by and large, are related to the ideological and social motivations of the workers. However, the concept of an activist career also maintains the career element, which takes more practical motivations of earning and job possibilities into consideration. The development of an activist career in its present form is largely a consequence of professionalisation processes, which encourage the specialisation of different SMOs and the networks between them.

8.4 Summary

In this chapter, I have tried to initiate an exploration of SMO workers' motivations, satisfaction, and career paths. Throughout the chapter, the motivations have followed two logics: the ideological, social logic, which was apparent in the comparison between SMO and other workers and in the workers' choice of study area; and the practical logic, which was reflected in the workers' considerations of past and future career possibilities. This conceptualisation is also related to the workers being in an in-between position, between workers and volunteers. This position, although described as desirable, is also experienced as a source of conflict.

As I indicated at the beginning of the chapter, this dissertation is explanatory in nature. Methodologically, I conducted a survey to explore certain questions and hypotheses, and collaborated with interviewees and participants in workshops to understand the findings of this survey. However, to properly explore the pathways and motivations leading to work in SMOs I believe an exploratory study is needed, which will offer a more complete view of these issues. However, these findings can serve as a starting point for such research, offering a realistic and critical view of workers' motivations and career paths.

This exploration of motivations and career paths has led me to suggest the concept of an activist career as a useful term for SMO workers. This term sees SMO workers as developing and bringing with them a disposition towards work that encourages them to remain within the SMO sector even when moving to a different position. It does so by making the SMO sector more attractive for SMO workers, as well as through creating barriers for their moving to other sectors. The concept of an activist career

highlights the role of professionalisation in creating current forms of employment in SMOs, and maintains a sense of linearity and continuity from literature on careers.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

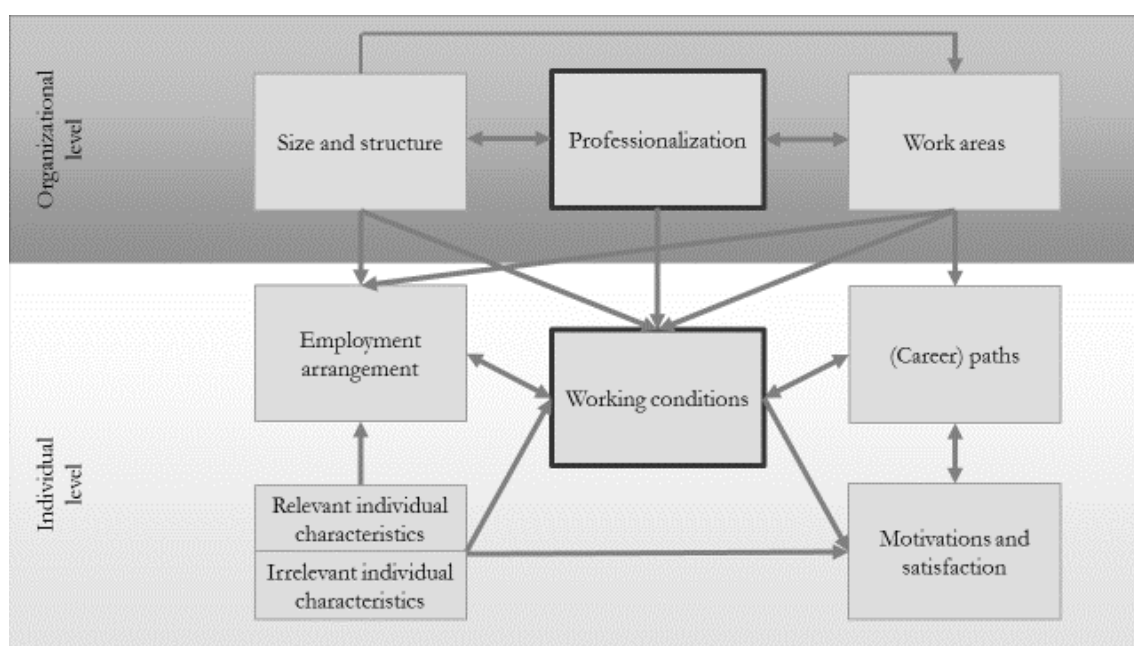
9.1 Introduction

This study explores the issue of working conditions and careers of SMO workers – a consequence and aspect of professionalisation processes in social movements in general, and in SMOs in particular. While professionalisation is a prominent issue in social movement literature, its impact on the workers themselves has not been researched. I explored professionalisation and working conditions in peace and anti-occupation SMOs in Israel, chosen for their wide variety of organisational types, areas of activity, and structure. This thesis draws on theories and concepts from two different bodies of literature: Social Movement Theory, which offers tools for understanding the social movement sector and the professionalisation processes in SMOs, as well as the habitus and mobilisation processes for activists; and Labour Market research, which offered information on disparities between groups of workers, on key issues related to working conditions, and on the changes in the concept of careers in the last half a century. I have used a Weberian approach, which pointed me towards an understanding of the professionalisation process as a form of bureaucratisation, and of the typology of rationalities which change in this process from value-led to instrumental rationality. Moreover, the Weberian approach led the way in which I interpreted the findings, which does strive for objectivity, while acknowledging the values which are an integral part of the topic of employment in SMOs. To research these issues I used a mixed methods explanatory approach, based on administrative data, a questionnaire of 200 workers from 32 SMOs, workshops, and interviews. To analyse the data gathered in this process, I used comparisons with representative surveys of the Israeli population, as well as multilevel modelling to account for the multilevel structure of the data, as well as to allow me to explore organisational- and individual-level variables simultaneously. The purpose of these techniques is to create a well-rounded, representative and therefore generalizable picture of current employment conditions in SMOs.

Israeli peace SMOs have gone through processes of development, consolidation, and professionalisation, similarly to other social movements in western countries.

However, Israeli peace SMOs are in an extreme situation in terms of the lack of public legitimacy and the amount of violence turned towards them. Though the extent to which the data I gathered are truly representative of SMO workers in general, or even of SMO workers in Israeli peace SMOs, can be debated, it has been useful in exploring relations between the different variables of interest. At this point, I would like to consider Figure 1.1 again (repeated here for ease of reference).

Figure 1.1: Causal links and multilevel structure explored in the dissertation



As the figure shows, the variables in this thesis all comprise a single hypothesised causal structure with various relationships. Exploring this model requires me to consider the various forms of data used in this thesis, and the fact that a model with many variables and only 200 respondents would have very limited explanatory power (and it would be very difficult to understand, even if it were possible). I have therefore divided the thesis findings and analysis into four related explorations, guided by the workers' perspective and experiences: the entrance to the SMO sector, workers' characteristics and working conditions; inequalities based on gender, nationality, education, and belonging to a union; professionalisation and other organisational level

variables and their effect on working conditions; and SMO workers' motivations, satisfaction, and career trajectories.

Next, I reiterate the main findings of this thesis on the individual and the organisational levels, followed by my thoughts on the research limitations, possibilities for future research, and policy recommendations.

9.2 The Individual Level: Working Conditions, Inequalities, and Careers

Using the results from my own survey and comparing them to a survey of the Israeli population, I described the distribution of personal attributes as well as of key working conditions. I found that workers in SMOs are highly educated, even when compared to the relatively educated population of third sector workers. They are also younger than other workers. Considering their level of education, their salaries are lower than in the Israeli labour market. They have a higher percentage of part time workers, and shorter tenure.

In an exploration of forms of employment, I found that monthly employment is the most prevalent, followed by freelance employment. Despite offering similar levels of education and experience, freelancers' working conditions were significantly worse compared to those of monthly paid workers: they worked mainly in part-time positions, were paid less, had shorter tenure in the employing SMO, and further analysis showed that they felt a weaker connection to their employing organisations. However, regression analysis showed that when controlling for their working hours as well as for other confounding factors, freelancers do not receive lower payment. I therefore concluded that this type of employment is a mediator of working conditions, rather than a cause of them.

Women and Palestinians are over-represented in the researched SMOs, compared to both their proportion in the Israeli population and to their proportion of the labour market. In the Israeli labour market, women and Palestinians tend to earn less than men and Jews, respectively. A multilevel regression analysis revealed that in SMOs

the picture is complex, and while Jewish men earn the most, they are followed by Palestinian men, Palestinian women, and finally Jewish women.

Gender inequalities in relation to working conditions have been previously researched in aid organisations. Damman, Heyse, and Mills (2014) show that the percentage of women in managerial positions is lower than expected in Médecins Sans Frontières Holland, while iterating the expectation that in the third sector, with more women employees than in other sectors, the expectation would be for more equal working conditions. In her study of aid workers, Roth (2015) did not find evidence of gender-based power relations. She particularly emphasised the awareness to the issue and the organisations' willingness to provide good working conditions for women she has found. While this awareness were also apparent in the workshops and interviews I held, the survey data still revealed a gender gap in the researched SMOs. This lack of consistency between the quantitative and qualitative findings suggests that the multitude of debates and declarations have perhaps contributed to the relationship between employers and female workers, but that these improvements are yet to be translated into equal pay. Furthermore, these accounts reflect on the experiences of aid workers. Aid organisations and SMOs are both parts of civil society, and have some elements in common, However, their fundamental goals are different, making the context of their employment different. While aid organisations provide aid in an existing political and social situation, SMOs' goals revolve around social and political change. SMOs' present a claim that is not inherent to aid organisations –to promote more equality, which does not align itself with the inequalities that exist in the labour market.

Answering these questions is important by itself, as it can direct decision makers to issues of inequality within SMO employment, and expand our knowledge of labour markets. In the context of this thesis, this information was also used as the basis for all further analysis. It provided initial analysis of the outcome variables of salary, work hours, and tenure, and assisted in identifying the key individual level variables to be used as controls in the analysis in the following chapters.

I further compared SMO workers and other workers to contextualise the SMO workers' motivations and satisfaction levels as well as information on the

distribution of elements related to ideology and career paths which, in conjunction with the data collected in the interviews and workshops, allowed me to examine the type of career prevalent in SMOs. I found that SMO workers are motivated, in their choice to join SMOs and in the daily process of putting effort into their work, by two logics, or motivations: ideological-social motivations, and financial-practical motivations. The role of the two types of motivations in civil society organisations has been noted in previous research (e.g. Roth, 2015; Stride and Higgs, 2014), and has recently been studied specifically in SMOs. Glasius and Ishkanian (2014) show the complex relations between what they refer to as street activism on the one hand, and NGOs on the other. While the activists interviewed in this research view NGOs as being too driven by financial or practical considerations and not connected enough with current street activism, they also mention the help and resources they receive from these NGOs and the blurred boundaries that exist between these activists and the NGOs. Interestingly, many of the interviewees are themselves NGO workers, while one of the main reasons mentioned for NGOs to assist street activists is that they NGO staff are themselves activists. In this context of examining the relationship between movement and activists, and organisations, SMO workers play a double role as both part of the organisations and in many cases, as activists themselves. This research, therefore, sheds light on their relationship with their employing SMOs, while also examining the activist element or logic they use in conjunction with the more practical logic, which could be thought of as representing the worker or organisational aspect of these workers. By examining these issues among SMO paid workers, this thesis shows not only the complexity in workers' motivations, but also the role of these motivations in the relationship between workers and their employing organisations.

The attempt to follow both sets of motivations is often seen as a conflict, for both the workers and the organisations, because the SMOs often cannot afford better working conditions for their employees, as well as because the SMOs and volunteers both wish to maintain the workers' position as in-between workers and volunteers. This in-between position is also reflected in the workers' career paths. In compliance with findings of previous studies, I found that academic studies as well as family background affected the chances to become SMO workers. I also found that SMO

workers tend to stay in the SMO sector, finding it difficult to move to a different sector after working in an SMO.

9.3 The Organisational Level: Professionalisation, Composition, and Activity Areas

In the exploration of the organisational level, the multilevel nature of my analysis played a substantive role and allowed me to directly examine the effects of the organisational level by itself, as well as the effects of various organisational level variables, while controlling for individual level variables. When looking just at the level of variance at the organisational level compared to that of the individual level for the outcome variables measuring working conditions, it was clear that the organisational level is important and merits further investigation. This type of analysis, therefore, reflects what I consider to be a more complete account of work relations – one which takes into account both the employer and the employee. Previous research on civil society and third sector employment has, so far, only examined each of these perspectives separately. Studying both the organisation and the workers allows me to take the organisation's concerns and limitations into account when considering working conditions, and so offers a more constructive way to improve these conditions.

After establishing the importance of considering the organisational level, I used multilevel regression models to examine the effect of professionalisation, as well as other organisational level variables, on working conditions. I found minor effects for the gender and nationality composition of workers, and of the proportion of unionised workers, on working conditions. The level of education in the SMOs, however, was a robust cause of variation in working conditions. I also found that different work areas of the SMOs have a significant effect on working conditions, suggesting that the SMO sector is not uniform, and different segments in it require separate analysis, which could not be taken in this dissertation due to the limited amount of SMOs in each activity area. Furthermore, the strength of the case study used in this dissertation is that peace and anti-occupation organisations in Israel include various types of SMOs,

and therefore the hypotheses and conclusions can be generalised for a wider range of cases. My measures of budget and organisational structure which were based on administrative data had very limited explanatory power, perhaps because there were no data for some of the SMOs. Finally, and possibly most importantly, I found that professionalisation has a minor, though significant, negative effect on working conditions, specifically on tenure and salary. This finding calls for caution in assuming that professionalisation would improve working conditions in SMOs that employ workers. This finding is particularly interesting as it suggests that the same process that creates work in SMOs also worsens the working conditions in them.

9.4 Limitations and Policy Recommendations

When designing this research, I had to make a few decisions which were difficult, and pose limitations to my study. Most of these are mentioned in Chapter 4, and are led by the issue of the response rate to the survey. In addition to this concern, I would like to raise three decisions I made which were necessary for this research. The first decision was to only include those who receive some monetary compensation for their work. This has created a definition of work that is limited and does not account for the full picture of work being done in SMOs. It does, however, allow me to look at working conditions in a way which would not be possible otherwise. This is because focusing on workers who receive payment enables me to look at these workers' working conditions. The second decision was to not ask an additional set of questions that would allow a better understanding of political positions, trust in various institutions, and information on politics in the respondents' families. This decision was made following the pre-test, in which respondents felt that these questions were invading their privacy and agreed that they would have a negative impact on responses to the survey. The third decision was not to include data on the SMO funding bodies in my analysis, as a third level of analysis. Some of these data were collected, following my understanding that funding bodies are an important part of this story. However, due to time limitations I did not complete the data collection of funding bodies and did not conduct analysis that included it.

These three areas are the three main directions for future research which could continue this project. Additionally, further research examining my conclusions

regarding measurement of professionalisation and of disparities in the social movement sector could enable testing my findings in further contexts, with the aim of creating standard tools for measuring and comparing abstract concepts such as professionalisation in what is a growing, and interesting, sector.

Despite the above, I would like to put forward the claim that the findings of this thesis can be used as the basis for discussion in SMOs, particularly examining the role of freelance employment, part-time positions, and differences based on gender. However, these discussions and decisions can and should also be made at the funding body level. Considering the costs of services in a way that encourages the SMO to employ freelancers fairly is an important step which funding bodies can take, as well as adopting a clear policy on the kind of positions acceptable in funded SMOs, and on the employment opportunities and conditions for men and women. I hope that by raising these issues and providing clear data on working conditions in SMOs, decision makers at the funding and organisational levels will be able to make better informed policy decisions regarding employment.

Finally, I argue that although the lines are often blurred between paid and unpaid work done in SMOs (especially since it is often the same work), clear definitions and agreements, as well as boundaries, should be agreed to prevent exploitative employment masked as volunteering or partially volunteering. At the same time, the work done by volunteers should be recognised and appropriate conditions for it set – even if the work is unpaid and motivated by social or ideological reasons. This recommendation applies to SMOs and their workers, but also to social scientists who research this area. While it is important to acknowledge the range of motivations and personal stories that can be found among SMO workers, this should be done while considering their working conditions.

9.5 Thesis Contribution

Despite limitations, this thesis offers a quantitative and representative study of SMO workers, which adds to the qualitative work that has been done on SMO members and enhances the knowledge about these workers.

Its main methodological contribution, however, is the suggested measurement of professionalisation. Professionalisation processes have been explored in the past, and the literature describes the relations between the growing need for further funding, formalisation, and de-radicalisation (e.g. Tilly and Tarrow, 2007; Diani and Bison, 2004; Maloney and Grant, 1997; Offe, 1990). However, the different component of the organisational formalisation and bureaucratisation have not been explored in a quantitative way that enables theory testing. Furthermore, the effect of professionalisation on workers, and more particularly on working conditions, has not been explored. To examine the main organisational level variable of this dissertation, the professionalisation level, I first needed to create a measure of professionalisation. This measure needs to take into account both theory regarding professionalisation, based on social movement theory and on the Weberian definition of professionalisation and bureaucratisation processes, and the social reality as it is reflected in my data. Through a series of factor analysis examinations, I created a measure of professionalisation which includes training, use of documents, division of labour in the organisation, the level of control workers feel they have over their daily work, and the level of control they have over the organisation's policy. In doing so, I have reaffirmed the relevance of Weber's theory for SMOs, as well as created a research tool that could be used in further studies. Another minor methodological contribution of this thesis is questioning the effectiveness of incentives to increase response rates to surveys among SMO workers and similar populations.

Theoretically, this thesis suggests an extension of the use of the term activist career. The activist career describes the way the workers' habitus, acquired before and during their time as SMO workers, act as a factor encouraging workers to stay as SMO workers, as well as discouraging other occupational options. At the same time. I suggest using the term "activist career" as a way to acknowledge the fact that these are careers, which depend on progression over time and on appropriate working conditions. Previous research that explored the career trajectories of aid workers (Roth, 2015; Damman, Heyse, and Mills, 2014) and third sector workers (Onyx and Maclean, 1996) has conceptualised these career moves in terms of motivations. Researching SMOs allows me to relate the workers' careers not just to motivations, but also to the performative element of activism (Crossly, 2003), expressed here in the sense of

comfort and belonging in SMOs, which makes it hard for activists to move to a different sector. Using this concept allows me to combine both bodies of literature in this project: Social Movement theory, and research on careers as part of the labour market. While the precariat (Standing, 2011) has become a wide social category, we would not necessarily have expected it to be a prominent part of work in SMOs. SMO employment can be seen as existing at the boundaries of the labour market – on the frontier between it and other types of activity, such as volunteering and activism. After reviewing the working conditions in this area, however, it appears that the employment practices that characterise it are not fundamentally different to those in other areas of the labour market. Even activist organisations, this suggests, are not immune to the processes of casualisation and insecurity that lead Standing to speak of the precariat. Whilst labour conditions described in this thesis point to job insecurity and a lack of time-control, the workers are less susceptible to the ‘identity insecurity’ that Standing (2011) describes since many of those described in Chapter 7 choose slightly less secure and remunerative employment in order to live their values.

Practically, this thesis provides information for SMOs and SMO workers, which could allow them to improve working conditions. This is particularly relevant for my research population – Israeli peace organisations. However, the understanding of professionalisation and its possible negative effect on employment in SMOs, as well as the theorising of SMO workers’ career paths, can be cautiously generalised. Therefore, this study suggests new directions in researching SMOs, as well as information for SMOs to improve their employment practices. While the way in which money is spent by various NGOs has become a central issue in public debate, working conditions in civil society have not gained similar attention. This thesis aims to make the issue of employment in SMOs a more central one, rather than a neglected element of professionalisation processes.

This thesis started with Dana, who moved from a well-paying industry to the SMO sector and is struggling to make ends meet, working in a set of different positions. We can now better understand the way in which her attitudes towards the different positions she holds combine practical considerations, related to career choice, and ideological considerations, related to being an SMO member. We can also better

conceptualise Dana's decision to stay in the SMO sector and the way this relates to her ideology as well as life-style. Employees in SMOs, this reminds us, are prepared to make sacrifices to achieve social change. Simultaneously, however, they are not complete idealists with no concerns for bread and butter concerns. If the SMO sector wishes to keep harnessing the goodwill, commitment and passion of these workers, the research presented here suggests that they need to ensure that employment practices do not presume on their employees' values to the extent that they become exploitative.

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Appendix 1 – interview schedule

First section – personal positioning – 20-30 minutes

- Initial introduction
 - age
 - position and organization
 - when started
- Personal history
 - Tell me a bit about yourself, what brought you to this job?
 - What kind of education did you have?
 - What were your previous jobs?
 - What kind of expectations did you have?
 - What other options did you have?
 - What reasons brought you to this organization?
- Current position
 - What are your main responsibilities?
 - What does an ordinary day in your work look like (if there is such a thing...)
 - What are the good think about your job? And the bad ones?
 - What would you recommend to someone considering working in your job?
- The organization
 - In what way is your organization structured? What are the different roles you have?
 - Describe the relationships within the organization
 - What are the physical arrangements? (one office? Different rooms? Locations? How do people communicate? How are decisions made?)
 - What is the organization's employment policy?
 - How are people being chosen?
 - How are they hired?
 - How does payment go?
 - Is there room for discussion?

Second section – looking at data together – 40-50 minutes

- Going over presentation, and asking for:
 - What surprised you?
 - What was expected?
 - What are your interpretations?
 - How is this relevant to your organization/personal experience?
 - What other information/analysis would you be interested in? How could it serve you?
 - Can you share examples/anecdotes that could help me understand these findings better?

Final section – summing up and feedback – up to 5 minutes

- Explain the process from now on
 - Answers to questions will be sent first
 - Information sheet will be disseminated – any advice on how to do that?
 - Other publications – how and if would like to be informed
- Asking for feedback
 - How was this process for you? What was good and not so good about it?

Appendix 2 – workshop schedule

First section – introduction and personal positioning – 10 minutes

- Initial introduction
 - Who I am, what this is about, confidentiality and timing
 - Going around the room and asking for:
 - Name
 - position and organization
 - Why are you here?
 - Personally – why does this interest you
 - Expectations – what you hope will happen

Second section – looking at data together – about 100 minutes

- Going over presentation, and asking for:
 - What surprised you?
 - What was expected?
 - What are your interpretations?
 - How is this relevant to your organization/personal experience?
 - What other information/analysis would you be interested in? How could it serve you?
 - Can you share examples/anecdotes that could help me understand these findings better?

Final section – summing up and feedback – up to 10 minutes

- Explain the process from now on
 - Answers to questions will be sent first
 - Information sheet will be disseminated – any advice on how to do that?
 - Other publications – how and if would like to be informed
- Asking for feedback
 - How was this process for you? What was good and not so good about it?

Appendix 3 – survey questionnaire

Q1 Gender

(to be filled by interviewer without asking)

Male	1
Female	2

Q2 Nationality

(to be filled by interviewer without asking)

Jewish	1
Arab	2

Q3 In what year were you born?

--	--	--	--

ESS round 5 QF15

Q4 About how many years of education have you completed, whether full-time or part-time? Please report these in full-time equivalents and include compulsory years of schooling*.

--	--

88 (Don't know)

* round up or down to the nearest whole year

ESS F15

Q5 What is the highest level of education you have successfully completed?

--

(will be coded according to answers)

ESS round 5 F11

Q6 Which one of the descriptions I will read to you describes your legal marital status now?

Legally married	01
In cohabitation	02
In a <u>legally registered</u> civil union	03
Legally separated	04
Legally divorced / Civil union dissolved	05
Widowed / Civil partner died	06
None of these (NEVER married or in <u>legally registered</u> civil union)	07
(Don't know)	88

ESS round 5 G11

Q7 In total, how many years have you been in paid work*?

--	--

888 (Don't know)

* Count years in full or part-time work equally. Code six months or more as 01; if less than six months in paid work code as 00.

Q8 When you were 16, what was your father's job?

--

(will be coded according to answers)

Q9 When you were 16, what was your mother's job?

--

(will be coded according to answers)

Q10 What is your job in [organization]?

--

(will be coded according to answers)

Adjusted from GSS round 5 G56

Q11 What is your usual gross monthly pay before deductions for tax and insurance? [in NIS]

0-1,500

1

1,501 – 2,500

2

2,501 – 3,500

3

3,501 – 4,500

4

4,501 – 5,500

5

5,501 – 7,000

6

7,001 – 10,000

7

More than 10,000

8

(refuse)

88

Q12 How do you get paid?

Employed in the organization and paid monthly	01
Employed in the organization and paid hourly	02
Employed by a different organization	03
Self-employed	04
(Else)	88

ESS Round 5 F25

Q13 In this job, do/did you have any responsibility for supervising the work of other employees?

Yes	05
No	06
(Don't know)	8

ESS Round 5 F26

Q14 How many workers are/were you responsible for?

--	--	--

888 (Don't know)

ESS Round 5 F26

Q14 How many volunteers are/were you responsible for?

--	--	--

888 (Don't know)

ESS round 5 F29

Q15 What are/were your total 'basic' or contracted hours each week (in your main job), excluding any paid and unpaid overtime?

--	--	--

888 (Don't know)

ESS round 5 F30

Q16 Regardless of your basic or contracted hours, how many hours do/did you normally work a week (in your main job), including any paid or unpaid overtime.

--	--	--

888 (Don't know)

Q17 When you do work overtime, is it paid or unpaid?

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------|
| Always paid | <input type="text" value="1"/> |
| Mostly paid | <input type="text" value="2"/> |
| Sometimes paid and sometimes unpaid | <input type="text" value="3"/> |
| Mostly unpaid | <input type="text" value="4"/> |
| Always unpaid | <input type="text" value="5"/> |
| (Do not do overtime) | <input type="text" value="55"/> |
| (Payment is determined per task/per month) | <input type="text" value="8"/> |

Q18 Are you currently employed in [organization] with a limited contract?

- | | |
|---|--------------------------------|
| Yes, for a limited time that was set by [organization] | <input type="text" value="1"/> |
| Yes, for a specific project that was set by [organization]* | <input type="text" value="2"/> |
| Yes, for a limited time/project set by me | <input type="text" value="3"/> |
| The contract is not limited, but I know I could be fired after a certain period | <input type="text" value="3"/> |
| For now, there is no limitation on how long I will be employed in [organization]. | <input type="text" value="4"/> |
| Can't choose | <input type="text" value="8"/> |

* a project that is time-limited

If limited:

Q19 For how long is the project?

- | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Less than 3 months | <input type="text" value="1"/> |
| Between 3 and 9 months | <input type="text" value="2"/> |
| Between 9 months and 18 months | <input type="text" value="3"/> |
| More than 18 months | <input type="text" value="3"/> |
| Can't choose | <input type="text" value="8"/> |

Q20 Do you have any savings for pension through your job in [organization]?

Yes

No

Don't know

Q21 In what year did you start working in [organization]?

2012			
------	--	--	--

8888 (Don't know)

Q22 And in what month?

7	
---	--

88 (Don't know)

Q23 How did you find this job? [Tick all that applies]

Worked/volunteered in another social organization

Volunteered in same organization

Worked in a different position in same organization

Via a job advertisement in a paper/website/email

Heard about it from a friend/acquaintance

Other

Q24 a year before you started to work in (organization), did you think you would work in a social organization?

I was sure of it

I considered it as a likely possibility

I considered it as an unlikely possibility

I did not consider it to be a possibility at all

Q25 What was your previous job? (job and organization)

--

ISSP 2005 27(N).

Q26 In addition to working in [organization], do you do any other work for additional income?

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------|
| No | <input type="text" value="1"/> |
| Yes, for another social organization | <input type="text" value="2"/> |
| Yes, for a different organization or self employed | <input type="text" value="3"/> |
| Yes, both | <input type="text" value="4"/> |

Adapted from ISSP 2005 27(N).

Q27 In addition to your paid work, do you do any volunteer work on a regular basis?

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------|
| No | <input type="text" value="1"/> |
| Yes, for the main organization I work for | <input type="text" value="2"/> |
| Yes, for other organizations/groups | <input type="text" value="3"/> |
| Yes, for both the organization I work for and other organizations/groups | <input type="text" value="4"/> |

Q28 Are you currently a student?

- | | |
|-----------------|--------------------------------|
| No | <input type="text" value="1"/> |
| Yes, full time* | <input type="text" value="2"/> |
| Yes, part time | <input type="text" value="3"/> |
| other | <input type="text" value="4"/> |

* more than 3 courses per semester/full time postgraduate

Q29 When you started working in [organization], what training process did you go through? (tick all that applies)

A training course	1
I was trained by the previous person that was in my job	2
Another person in the organization taught me the job	3
I received written instructions	4
I did not have an organized training process	5

Q30 All in all, how organized would you say the activities of the (organization) are?

Very organized	1
Quite organized	2
Not organized and not unorganized	3
Quite unorganized	4
Very unorganized	5
Can't choose	88

Q31 How are the responsibilities divided in the (organization)?

There are different roles with different responsibilities	1
Different workers have different responsibilities, but all help each other	2
There are a few different roles, but we all share all the responsibility	3
Everybody does everything	4
Can't choose	88

ESS CARD 51

Please say how much control you have over the following aspects of your work...

		I have/ had no influence										I have/ had complete control	(Don't know)
Q32	...to decide how your own daily work is/was organised?	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	88
Q33	...to influence policy decisions about the activities of the organisation ?	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	88

ISSP 2005 20(Q22).

Q34 How satisfied are you in [organization]?

Completely satisfied	<input type="text" value="1"/>
Very satisfied	<input type="text" value="2"/>
Fairly satisfied	<input type="text" value="3"/>
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	<input type="text" value="4"/>
Fairly dissatisfied	<input type="text" value="5"/>
Very dissatisfied	<input type="text" value="6"/>
Completely dissatisfied	<input type="text" value="7"/>
Can't choose	<input type="text" value="8"/>

ISSP 2005 17(N).

Q35 If you were to look for a new job, how helpful would your present work experience and/or job skills be?

Very helpful	<input type="text" value="1"/>
Quite helpful	<input type="text" value="2"/>
Not so helpful	<input type="text" value="3"/>
Not helpful at all	<input type="text" value="4"/>
(Can't choose)	<input type="text" value="8"/>

ESS round 5 G21

Q36 People put effort into their work for many different reasons. Which of the reasons shown on this card is the main reason why you put effort into your work?

to be satisfied with what I accomplish	<input type="text" value="1"/>
to keep my job	<input type="text" value="2"/>
because my work is useful for other people	<input type="text" value="3"/>
to get a higher wage or a promotion	<input type="text" value="4"/>
because my work tasks are interesting	<input type="text" value="5"/>
because it is everyone's duty to always do their best	<input type="text" value="6"/>
to get a higher wage or a promotion	<input type="text" value="7"/>
(I do not put effort into my work)	<input type="text" value="55"/>
(Don't know)	<input type="text" value="8"/>

ASK G22 IF A REASON IS GIVEN AT **Q15** (codes 01-07)

ESS G22

Q37 And what is the second most important reason? Please use this card.

to be satisfied with what I accomplish	1
to keep my job	2
because my work is useful for other people	3
to get a higher wage or a promotion	4
because my work tasks are interesting	5
because it is everyone's duty to always do their best	6
to get a higher wage or a promotion	7
(I do not put effort into my work)	55
(Don't know)	8

Thinking about your experience with (organization), please tell me how much you agree with each of the following statements:

Q38 I feel part of (the organization)	1 Strongly agree	2 agree	3 Neither agree nor disagree	4 disagree	5 Disagree strongly
Q39 My friends think that this work is worthwhile	1 Strongly agree	2 agree	3 Neither agree nor disagree	4 disagree	5 Disagree strongly
Q40 I feel that my work helps to make a difference	1 Strongly agree	2 agree	3 Neither agree nor disagree	4 disagree	5 Disagree strongly
Q41 This work led me to explore new career possibilities	1 Strongly agree	2 agree	3 Neither agree nor disagree	4 disagree	5 Disagree strongly
Q42 I feel I have developed personally in this work	1 Strongly agree	2 agree	3 Neither agree nor disagree	4 disagree	5 Disagree strongly

ESS round 5 G45

Q43 To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement: 'Considering all my efforts and achievements in my job, I feel I get paid appropriately'?

Agree strongly	<input type="text" value="1"/>
Agree	<input type="text" value="2"/>
Neither agree nor disagree	<input type="text" value="3"/>
Disagree	<input type="text" value="4"/>
Disagree strongly	<input type="text" value="5"/>
(Don't know)	<input type="text" value="8"/>

ISSP 2005 7(Q9).

Q44 Suppose you could decide on your work situation at present. Which of the following would you prefer?

A full time job [30 hours or more per week]	<input type="text" value="1"/>
A part-time job [10-29 hours per week]	<input type="text" value="2"/>
A job with less than [10] hours a week	<input type="text" value="3"/>
No paid job at all	<input type="text" value="4"/>
Can't choose	<input type="text" value="8"/>

ESS round 5 F39

Q45 Are you or have you ever been a member of a trade union or similar organisation? **IF YES**, is that currently or previously?

Yes, currently	1
Yes, previously	2
No	3
(Don't know)	8

ESS B1

Q46How interested would you say you are in politics – are you...

very interested, 1

quite interested, 2

hardly interested, 3

or, not at all interested? 4

(Don't know) 8

ESS B₂₃ CARD 9

Q47 In politics people sometimes talk of “left” and “right”. Where would you place yourself on a scale, where 0 means the left and 10 means the right?

Left
(DK)

Right

00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10
----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----

88

Appendix 4 - Additional tables

Table 1: Area of studies

	SMO workers	Israeli students 2012
social sciences	28.3%	21.4%
humanities or art	17.9%	7.5%
law	15.6%	6.0%
education	11.0%	13.9%
conflict/peace/human rights/SMOs	9.2%	-
economics and business	6.9%	12.2%
other	11.0%	39.0%
Total	173	190,810

Source for information on Israeli students: Council for Higher Education, 2014.

Table 2: Educational attainments among the Israeli labour market and SMO workers
(Cramer's V for higher education: 0.007, sig: 0.000; Cramer's V for student: 0.002,
sig: 0.000)

	SMO workers	Israeli labour market
<i>Highest educational attainment</i>		
none	2.5%	19.1%
matriculation	8.5%	22.2%
first degree	36.2%	23.9%
second degree or higher	39.7%	14.2%
post high school diploma	13.1%	20.6%
Total (weighted)	-	2,922,173

Total (unweighted)	199	4,186
<i>Percentage of students</i>		
Student	23.5%	13.0%
Total (weighted)	-	3,240,427
Total (unweighted)	200	4,639

Source for the Israeli labour market: Social Survey 2012.

Table 3: Percentages of women and Palestinians in the Israeli population, the Israeli labour market, and SMO workers (measures for the difference between the labour market and SMOs: Cramer's V for sex and for nationalist: 0.004. sig: 0.000)

	Israeli Population	SMO workers	Israeli labour market
Jewish (and others)	79.3%	69.50%	87.90%
Palestinian	20.7%	30.50%	12.10%
male	50.6%	28.00%	52.70%
female	49.4%	72.00%	47.30%
Total (weighted)	-	-	3,240,952
Total (unweighted)	-	200	4,640

Source for the Israeli labour market: Social Survey 2012.

Source for Israeli population: Central Bureau of Statistics. *Israel's population*
http://www.cbs.gov.il/reader/?MIval=cw_usr_view_SHTML&ID=629

Table 4: occupations of SMO workers and the Israeli labour market (Cramer's V: 0.010 sig: 0.00)

	SMO workers	Israeli labour market
Academic professionals	11.0%	15.3%
Associate professionals and technicians	46.5%	16.3%
Managers	30.5%	9.4%
Clerical workers	10.0%	15.7%
Agents, sales workers and service workers	0.5%	20.6%
Skilled workers in agriculture	-	1.3%
Skilled workers in industry	-	15.4%
Unskilled workers	1.5%	6.1%
Total (weighted)	-	3,156,719
Total (unweighted)	200	4,516

Source for the Israeli labour market: Social Survey 2012.

Table 5: Working hours among the Israeli labour market and SMO workers (Cramer's V: 0.006. Sig: 0.000)

	SMO workers	Israeli labour market
1 - 4	5.1%	0.5%
5 - 9	5.1%	2.0%
10 - 19	9.1%	5.6%
20 - 34	21.7%	15.9%
35 - 42	21.7%	26.8%
43 - 49	19.2%	20.9%
50 - 59	13.6%	17.7%
60+	4.5%	10.8%
Total (weighted)	-	3,003,763
Total (unweighted)	198	4,285

Source for the Israeli labour market: Social Survey 2012.

Table 6: Gender and appointment among SMO workers (Cramer's v: 0.126, sig: 0.203), and Students and appointment among SMO workers (Cramer's V: 0.238, sig: 0.084)

	Men	Women	Not a student	Student

less than 10 hours a week	12.5%	14.6%	12.4%	19.1%
part time	23.2%	34.7%	28.8%	40.4%
full time	64.3%	50.7%	58.8%	40.4%
Total	56	144	153	47

Table 7: Working hours in SMOs and Israeli labour market, controlled by being a student (Cramer's v for non-students: 0.005, sig: 0.00, Cramer's V for students: 0.009. Sig: 0.000)

	<i>Not a student</i>		<i>Student</i>	
	SMO workers	Israeli labour market	SMO workers	Israeli labour market
1-4	4.6%	0.5%	6.4%	0.6%
5-9	4.6%	1.4%	6.4%	5.7%
10-19	8.6%	4.6%	10.6%	12.3%
20 - 34	19.9%	14.0%	27.7%	28.6%
35 - 42	22.5%	27.3%	19.1%	23.6%
43 - 49	18.5%	21.9%	21.3%	13.6%
50 - 59	15.2%	18.7%	8.5%	10.8%
60+	6.0%	11.60%		4.7%
Total (weighted)	-	2,615,418	-	387,818
Total (unweighted)	151	3,729	47	555

Source for the Israeli labour market: Social Survey 2012.

Table 8: Years in the workplace among SMO workers and the Israeli labour market
(Cramer's V for all workers: 0.004, sig: 0.00; Cramer's V for BA holders: 0.015 sig:
0.01; Cramer's V for MA and above holders: 0.004, sig: 0.00)

	<i>All workers</i>		<i>First degree</i>		<i>Second degree or higher</i>	
	SMO workers	Israeli labour market	SMO workers	Israeli labour market	SMO workers	Israeli labour market
less than a year	28%	14%	26.4%	11.5%	27.8%	5.9%
1 - 4	37%	33%	38.9%	32.8%	38.0%	25.6%
5 - 9	14%	19%	11.1%	21.6%	17.7%	21.3%
10 - 14	12%	12%	9.7%	12.7%	10.1%	16.8%
15 - 19	5%	8%	8.3%	8.9%	1.3%	10.8%
20 - 24	4%	6%	4.2%	4.6%	3.8%	8.8%
25 -29	2%	3%		2.5%	1.3%	3.9%
30 -34	1%	3%	1.4%	2.9%		3.9%
35 -39		2%		1.3%		1.8%
40 +		1%		1.3%		1.3%
Total (weighted)	-	3,235,591		696,334		415,518
Total (unweighted)	200	4632	72	1023	79	593

Source for the Israeli labour market: Social Survey 2012.

Table 9: Salary levels in SMOs and the Israeli labour market

Israel		SMOs	
up to 2000	7.5%	0-1500	9.5%
2,001 - 3,000	6.7%	1500-2500	8.5%
3,001 - 4,000	8.0%	2500-3500	5.0%
4,001 - 5,000	11.7%	3500-4500	10.0%
5,001 - 6,000	9.8%	4500-5500	8.5%
6,001 - 7,500	13.2%	5500-7000	12.5%
7,501 - 10,000	14.1%	7000-10000	30.0%
10,001 - 14,000	11.7%	over 10000	16.0%
14,001 - 21,000	8.8%		
Over 21,000	8.4%		
Weighted total	2,910,243	Weighted total	-
Unweighted total	4170	Unweighted total	151

Source for the Israeli labour market: Social Survey 2012.

Table 10: Salary levels in SMOs and the Israeli labour market for those with an academic degree

Israel		SMOs	
up to 2000	3.6%	0-1500	6.6%
2,001 - 3,000	3.0%	1500-2500	7.3%
3,001 - 4,000	3.9%	2500-3500	5.3%
4,001 - 5,000	5.7%	3500-4500	6.6%

5,001 - 6,000	6.4%	4500-5500	9.3%
6,001 - 7,500	10.8%	5500-7000	12.6%
7,501 - 10,000	14.4%	7000-1000	34.4%
10,001 - 14,000	17.4%	over 10000	17.9%
14,001 - 21,000	16.6%		
Over 21,000	18.2%		
Total (weighted)	1,002,852	Total (weighted)	-
Total (unweighted)	1,460	Total (unweighted)	151

Table 11: Salary levels in SMOs and the Israeli labour market for part time and full time workers

Part time				Full time			
<i>Israel</i>		<i>SMOs</i>		<i>Israel</i>		<i>SMOs</i>	
up to 2000	23.4%	0-1500	22.2%	up to 2000	2.0%	0-1500	0.9%
2,001 - 3,000	19.1%	1500-2500	19.8%	2,001 - 3,000	2.6%	2500-3500	0.9%
3,001 - 4,000	15.5%	2500-3500	11.1%	3,001 - 4,000	5.9%	3500-4500	0.9%
4,001 - 5,000	11.7%	3500-4500	18.5%	4,001 - 5,000	11.9%	4500-5500	6.8%
5,001 - 6,000	6.6%	4500-5500	11.1%	5,001 - 6,000	10.8%	5500-7000	14.5%
6,001 - 7,500	6.4%	5500-7000	8.6%	6,001 - 7,500	15.6%	7000-10,000	45.3%
7,501 - 10,000	7.4%	7000-10,000	8.6%	7,501 - 10,000	16.2%	over 10,000	27.4%
10,001 - 14,000	6.0%			10,001 - 14,000	13.7%		
14,001 - 21,000	2.1%			14,001 - 21,000	11.0%		
Over 21,000	1.8%			Over 21,000	10.3%		
Total (weighted)	655,581	Total (weighted)	-	Total (weighted)	935	Total (weighted)	-
Total (unweighted)	2,951	Total (unweighted)	81	Total (unweighted)	2,065,587	Total (unweighted)	117

Source for the Israeli labour market: Social Survey 2012.

Table 12: Nationality, Sex, Educational qualifications and age among freelance and monthly workers in SMOs

		Monthly payment	Freelance	Significance
<i>Nationality</i>	Jews	68.5%	70.8%	0.512
	Palestinians	31.5%	29.2%	
<i>Sex</i>	Men	27.2%	29.2%	0.505
	Women	72.8%	70.8%	
<i>Highest educational qualification</i>	None	3.1%	0.0%	0.849
	Matriculation	5.6%	8.3%	
	First degree	35.4%	41.7%	
	Second degree or higher	42.2%	37.5%	
	Post high-school diploma	13.7%	12.5%	
<i>Mean age</i>		40.7	41.1	0.866
Total		162	24	

Table 13: Means comparison of years in the labour market, tenure, and weekly working hours between monthly paid and freelance workers in SMOs

	Occupational arrangement	Mean	Std. Deviation	Mean difference	Significance
<i>Years in labour market</i>	Monthly payment	19.1	12.4	1.1	0.579
	Freelance	18	8.3		

<i>Tenure</i>	Monthly payment	5.9	6.9	2.6	0.008
	Freelance	3.3	3.8		
<i>Working hours</i>	Monthly payment	38.6	13.3	25.3509	0.000
	Freelance	13.2	11.9		

Table 14: Payment levels for monthly paid and freelance workers in SMOs (Cramer's V: 0.540 sig: 0.000; Cramer's V for part time: 0.712 sig: 0.003)

	All workers		Part-time		Full time	
	<i>Monthly payment</i>	<i>Freelance</i>	<i>Monthly payment</i>	<i>Freelance</i>	<i>Monthly payment</i>	<i>Freelance</i>
0-1500	1.9%	37.5%	5.2%	40.9%		
1500-2500	6.2%	16.7%	17.2%	13.6%		
2500-3500	4.9%	4.2%	13.8%	4.5%		50.0%
3500-4500	9.3%	16.7%	19.0%	18.2%	3.8%	
4500-5500	9.9%	4.2%	13.8%	4.5%	7.7%	
5500-7000	14.2%	0.0%	17.2%		12.5%	
7000-1000	34.6%	16.7%	13.8%	18.2%	46.2%	
over 10000	19.1%	4.2%			29.8%	50.0%
Total	162	24	58	22	104	2

Table 15: Percentages of students and working in other capacities among monthly paid and freelance workers in SMOs

		Monthly payment	Freelance	Significance
<i>Student</i>	No	77.8%	83.3%	0.811
	Full time	9.9%	8.3%	
	Part time	12.3%	8.3%	
<i>Another job</i>	No	63.1%	0.0%	0.000
	Yes, employee	15.6%	62.5%	
	Yes, self employed	20.0%	37.5%	
	Yes, other	1.3%	0.0%	
Total		162	24	

Table 16: Highest educational qualification among men and women in SMOs (sig: 0.025) and Jews and Palestinians in SMOs (sig: 0.563)

	Men	Women	Jews	Palestinians
None	5.4%	1.4%	2.2%	3.3%
Matriculation	7.1%	9.1%	7.2%	11.5%
Post high-school diploma	12.5%	13.3%	14.5%	9.8%
First degree	21.4%	42.0%	34.1%	41.0%
Second degree or higher	53.6%	34.3%	42.0%	34.4%
Total	56	144	139	61

Table 17: Mean proportion of men and Jews, mean education years, median salary, and mean work hours and tenure years according to work areas (chi square and t-test significance in brackets)

	Services	Action	Community	Media	Total sample
Proportion of men	30%	20%	21%	35%	22%
	(0.481)	(0.577)	(0.852)	(0.080)	
Proportion of Jews	39%	64%	78%	79%	71%
	(0.032)	(0.165)	(0.290)	(0.398)	
Mean education years	17.35	16.99	17.03	17.97	17.10
	(0.715)	(0.694)	(0.853)	(0.078)	
Salary median	7000-10,000	7000-10,000	5500-7000	7000-10,000	5500-7000
	(0.000)	(0.214)	(0.002)	(0.042)	
Work hours	42.2	35.5	30.8	35.3	34.4
	(0.000)	(0.169)	(0.000)	(0.438)	
Tenure years	5.3	4.3	5.6	7.5	5.4
	(0.892)	(0.006)	(0.524)	(0.000)	
Professionalization level	0.43	0.39	0.39	0.34	0.41
	(0.614)	(0.343)	(0.478)	(0.012)	

Table 18: Means organizational income and costs, number of workers, and number of volunteers in an SMO compared between those above and below 7000 NIS a month

	Salary	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Sig
Yearly income	above 7000	74	3,346,735 NIS	2,099,039	0.001
	below 7000	85	2,267,894 NIS	1,778,427	
Yearly costs	above 7000	74	3,809,618 NIS	3,025,182	0.001
	below 7000	85	2,379,803 NIS	2,310,645	
Number of volunteers	above 7000	59	160.6	289.3	0.973
	below 7000	76	162.1	248.3	
Number of workers	above 7000	89	22.3	13.5	0.151
	below 7000	108	19.8	10.8	

Table 19: How interested in politics (Cramer's V: 0.366, sig: 0.000)

	Israeli population	SMOs
Very interested	14.5%	65.3%
Quite interested	35.8%	26.1%
Hardly interested	26.7%	6.5%
Not at all interested	23.1%	2.0%
Total	2225	199

Source for the Israeli population: ESS 2010

Table 20: How helpful is present work experience for new job (Cramer's V: 0.114, sig: 0.014)

	Workers in Israel	SMO workers
Very helpful	46.9%	52.5%
Quite helpful	31.5%	35.0%
Not so helpful	12.9%	10.0%
Not helpful at all	8.7%	2.5%
Total	612	200

Source for the Israeli population: ESS 2010